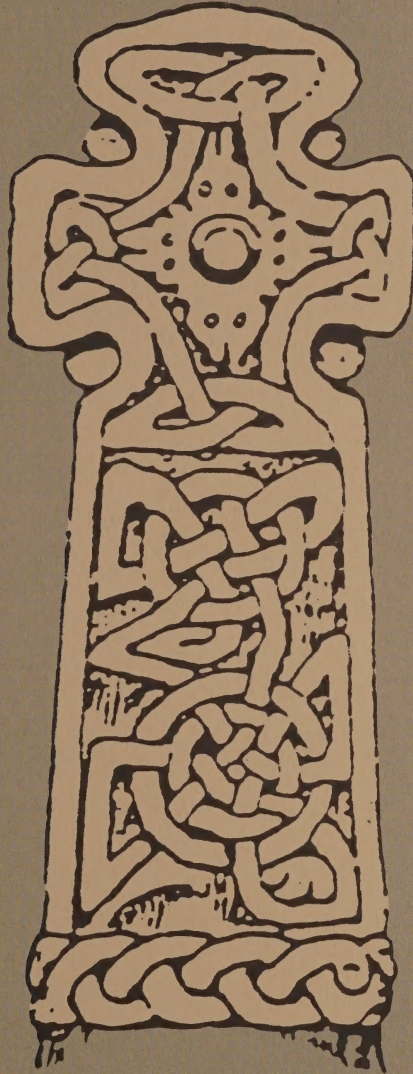


The Ryedale Historian

Number 18

1996-1997



*Helmsley and District
Archaeological Society*

Notes

Contents

Page		
4	Editorial	
4	Basil Wharton	<i>Modern fires amid Ancient monuments.</i>
	Margaret Allison & Philip Rahtz	<i>A medieval oven at Appleton le Moors.</i>
6		
11	John McDonnell	<i>Early Years of the Helmsley and District Archaeological Society.</i>
12	Isabel Anne McLean	<i>The Lost Watermill of Kirkdale.</i>
17	E. Blizzard	<i>Stang End Farmhouse in Danby Dale.</i>
19	William Eddon	<i>Extract from An Account of his Life.</i>
22	Tom Scott Burns	<i>Bill Cowley.</i>
	Reviews	
23	Lorna Watts	<i>Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture.</i>
25	John McDonnell	<i>Coxwoldshire.</i>
25	Philip Rahtz	<i>Moorland Monuments.</i>

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Editorial

In the two years since the publication of the last Ryedale Historian members of the Society have been involved in considerable activity. In the very hot weather of 1994 several helped to uncover and record the medieval oven at Appleton le Moors. Traces of this were spotted from the driving seat of a Land Rover by Margaret Allison just as they were emerging from excavations on a building site. A description of what was found appears below. At about the same time Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts began what is to be a continuing investigation of St Gregory's Minster and its surroundings in Kirkdale. The first report is published as a supplement to this issue.

Summer outings included a visit to Danby Castle where we were shown the room where the Court Leet is held; to Eberston; to Whitby where there have been extensive excavations at the Abbey; to the splendid new museum at Jarrow, and to Kirkdale itself. In the autumn/winter seasons altogether fourteen lectures were given at the National Park Office in Helmsley. The subjects included; vernacular buildings in Ryedale; Roman signal stations; Mesolithic sites in the Vale of Pickering; the conservation of stained glass windows; the life of the Yorkshire archaeologist, General Pitt Rivers; and of the architect, Philip Webb.

The complicated and sometimes frustrating task of matching dates to the convenience of the scholars and experts who deliver the lectures - giving freely of their time - falls to the Hon Secretary. Gertrude Fontaine who held this office for 16 years has now retired, while remaining a member of the Committee. In April 1995 Geoffrey Smith kindly agreed to take her place.

Sadly, deaths must be recorded of members and former members; Theresa Allenby who, with her husband, was Joint Secretary and Treasurer in the 1960s and 70s; Doug Smith; John Marwood and, a contributor to the Ryedale Historian over many years, Cyril King.

Helmsley and District Archaeological Society continues to be very grateful to Ryedale District Council and the North York Moors National Park for grants towards the cost of publishing this Journal.

Anne Taylor

Modern Fires amid Ancient Monuments

by Basil Wharton

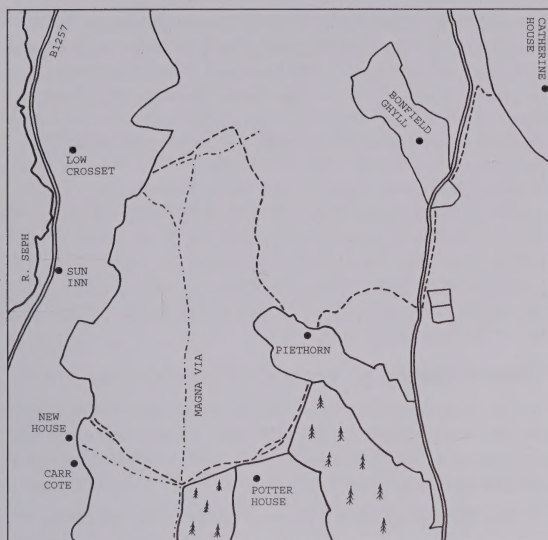
There is abundant evidence that fire was used by mesolithic hunters to assist in creating the earliest clearances in the postglacial forests on the North York Moors. In modern times fire is again playing a part in landscape change, and its impact is likely to increase. For more than a century rotational burning of heather has been used to stimulate the young growth which is of benefit to sheep and grouse, both now mainstays of the local economy. The procedure is carefully controlled, but occasional accidents are inevitable. A further risk of fires both accidental and mischievous is imposed by the recreational demands of an ever more mobile population with freedom to roam. There is also apprehension that even well controlled burning leads eventually to degradation of soils, with drying out and liability to wind blow, gully formation, and the consequent exposure of peat which, when dry, is easily ignited (Atherden 1992). The recent series of dry

seasons has increased the risk, at least temporarily, and could be part of a continuing trend in the climate.

There have been serious fires in most parts of the North York Moors National Park during the last forty years, on occasion requiring exceptional control measures. The brunt of such measures has been born by the Forestry Commission, using bulldozers to scrape off vegetation, boulders and topsoil, so creating long strips of bare ground up to 50m wide as firebreaks. In places the upcast remains as earth banks or lines of tumbled boulders and the strips leave traces as terrace features or survive in part as rough tracks still used today. Remnants of many such earthworks extend from the Hambleton escarpment to the coast; the regrowth of heather and formation of new topsoil has given to some a look of antiquity which belies their recent origin. In view of the urgency with which they were created it is understandable that few details were recorded either of their effect on existing topography or of the artefacts which were unearthed. First hand accounts from some of those who were directly concerned at the time have helped to locate some 8 km of such earthworks and tracks constructed in 1960 between Bilsdale and Bransdale.

One morning in June 1960 residents of Bransdale awoke to see a large smoke cloud covering the moors to the north-west. Earlier in the month a fire near the head of Tripsdale had caused some anxiety but seemed to have been finally extinguished. However it is probable that it had continued to smoulder beneath the surface. Some days later a gale arose during the night, and by dawn an enormous fire was spreading in the same area. Rough terrain and thick smoke made access difficult, and driven by the northerly gale the fire spread along the plateau between Bilsdale and Bransdale at a rate of several kilometres a day, posing a threat to farms and plantations. Firebreaks constructed in haste by the Forestry Commission helped eventually to control the fire after over 2000 hectares of moorland had been devastated. The perceived threat of the 1960 fire was such, that a second line of defence was established, extending for 2.5 km across Laskill Pasture and Helmsley Moors, but which was never actually reached by the fire. On Laskill Pasture Moor there are some indications that it may have obscured an older linear feature, perhaps a boundary or enclosure wall.

Laskill Pasture and Helmsley Moors occupy the southern part of a moorland plateau sloping gently to the south between Bilsdale and Bransdale. They are nominally divided by the north-south 'Magna Via', an ancient road from Helmsley to Cleveland (Hayes 1988), now represented by a line of hollow ways. Crossing from east to west is part of an old track from Bilsdale to Bransdale, disused since the existing track, a remnant of the 1960 firebreak, was created on a course diverging a little to the north. (See figure). At the north-west corner of Roppa Wood (SE586916) both tracks are briefly together where they cross both the Magna Via and Joseph Foord's Carlton watercourse of 1758 (McDonnell 1963). From here for a distance of 1 km to the enclosure wall above Bilsdale at SE577922 the new track traverses Laskill Pasture Moor's gentle southward slope on a terrace 20-40m wide. A 1m scarp cut by the bulldozer blade bounds the northern margin of the terrace. The southern edge falls more or less steeply, 0.5 - 1m, to a presumably natural surface below, the slope incorporating some earthfast boulders. In places along the foot of the slope are lines of large boulders pushed over from the terrace above and lying in a tumble on the surface. The terrace margin and the bank below are well covered by mature heather with soil which appears undisturbed except when affected by routine burning. Their



Firebreak earthworks on an area between Bilsdale and Bransdale.

- Defines Firebreak earthworks and tracks
- North-South, the Magna Via;
- ... East West, part of an old track crossing Laskill Pasture Moor
- Enclosure walls
- Farms e.g. Piethorne

appearance suggests that the terrace was constructed in 1960 along the line of an earlier feature which it partly obscures. Near the Bilsdale enclosure wall the terrace edge is less well defined, and its alignment is continued by a line of boulders. These had been pushed aside on the surface preparatory to scraping off the topsoil - an operation abandoned when the fire's advance had been checked further north.

It was hoped that a comparison of air photographs taken before, and after 1960 would show whether a pre-existing structure had been transgressed by the firebreak. An RAF photograph of 1954 is disappointing and equivocal; the terrace edge cannot be positively identified, but coinciding with its alignment for several hundred metres west of the Magna Via at SE586916 (at what is now the corner of Roppa Wood which was planted in 1962) is a line of clear contrast in vegetation density, probably the edge of a burned area, and perhaps determined by a topographical feature. A 1972 air photograph shows clearly the outline of the ground scraped twelve years earlier, sharply demarcated by the scarp to the north. An even cover of heather stretches from the moor to the south, extending on to the bank and overlapping on to the terrace. This implies that the bank and terrace margin were not disturbed in 1960 and are part of a pre-existing feature.

By the western enclosure wall at SE 577922 the 1960 firebreak track and line of boulders merge into older earthworks visible on the 1954 air photographs. Beside the wall a north - south track lies among mounds and banks of uncertain origin. The wall itself is notable for the large orthostats in its base. Immediately to the north of the firebreak, part of a Bronze Age cairnfield is exposed in an area of heather regenerating after recent burning. To the south on moorland adjacent to the derelict settlements of New House and Carr Cote, a remarkable array of many large earthfast gritstone boulders extends over several hectares. Some upright slabs could be imagined as deliberately placed, but the whole assemblage is more likely to be a random tumble of

slabs and boulders produced by periglacial solifluxion and exposed by soil erosion. The nearby cairnfield perhaps implies that prehistoric cultivation contributed to erosion on the scale evident here. Such boulders are widely scattered on Laskill Pasture and Helmsley Moors, and on the evidence of some recent deep erosion gulleys they are not always derived from bedrock in the immediate vicinity. When present in gully sections they are present only on the surface layer, above a subsoil of sandstone gravel sometimes over 2m deep. When bedrock appears in a gully bottom it is a thinly bedded brown sandstone unlike the grey surface gritstone (the 'Moor Grit' of the Scalby Formation). In a report of similar sections in the Peak District (Anderson and Currall 1963), there is confirmation that solifluxion can move boulders over distances of several kilometres on slopes of less than 3°.

According to my informants the regeneration of heather after the 1960 fire was almost complete after 20 years. The areas worst affected had been those of scrubby old growth, and here the fire burned deep into the peat, killing the roots and also some seed. Several inches of peat might have been lost and in following years there was further loss due to wind blow or wash out by heavy rain. Young green heather was less affected and though burned to the ground surface, new shoots usually covered the area after 4 years. The devastated areas were reseeded naturally from the margins or from less damaged island patches.

To what extent it is possible or desirable to restore heather moorland after fire damage, inappropriate cultivation, or other cause, is a subject of continuing study and experiment by the North York Moors National Park. The planting of native broadleaved trees is seen as a desirable option for some areas. Where grazing and burning have ceased or been much reduced, colonisation by pioneer species such as birch is already taking place. Rievaulx Moor is being reseeded naturally by pine from adjoining plantations.

Fire, and sometimes also the means to control it, will continue to affect the moors for some time to come. It must be helpful to future students of the landscape if new topographical features, which for a while seem commonplace, are recorded before their origins become obscure.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted for first hand information and comment to residents of Bilsdale and Bransdale, particularly Mr J. Collier, Mr H. Noble, and Mr H. Wheldon, and also to Mr J. Grayson, formerly an engineer with the Forestry Commission. My thanks are due also to The North York Moors National Park for a grant towards the purchase of air photographs, and to The National Park Archaeological Conservation Officer, Graham Lee for help and advice in preparing maps.

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A Medieval Oven at Appleton-le-Moors

by Margaret Allison and Philip Rahtz

This report describes the history and archaeology of a medieval oven, found and excavated when ground was being cleared for new housing on the southern edge of the village in the summer of 1994 (fig 1). The oven was in three phases, the second and third having substantial stone elements. All are likely to belong to a period within the date bracket c AD 1200-1400. The function of the oven was probably the same in all three phases. It is uncertain what it was used for; an oven for the baking of bread or the cooking of other food on a fairly large scale is one possibility. Or it may have been used for something more elaborate, such as grain-drying or malting. A discussion of the historical background is followed by a description of the archaeology, with appendices on the pottery and other finds.

The Historical Background

by Margaret Allison

Introduction

The following is a brief history of the area of the oven site. There are references that suggest it has manorial associations. There are also other possibilities, as that the area was old arable or manorial waste.

First I wish to consider the possible manorial associations. The close in which the oven was found adjoins the farmhouse to the east and has belonged to this farm holding for as long as the record can be traced, that is at least 250 years. The farmhouse is known today as Manor Farmhouse. The name Manor Farm is first recorded in the year 1900. There are no other premises in the village called Manor Farm and so this site remains the only candidate for Appleton's manorial site. It has not been possible to locate any early deeds or other information to corroborate the name Manor Farmhouse,

There is a reference in 1767 to a half acre (0.2 ha) site known as Chapel Garth, which is located somewhere in the area of Manor Farmhouse. This mention of a chapel is a reference to the medieval 'free chapel' of Appleton (Ryedale Historian 1986). The juxtaposition of chapel and manor in the medieval period is a common one. This is especially true if the manor lord was closely associated with the chapel's foundation, which may be the case in Appleton. For example, the chapel is first mentioned in the late 12th century in association with Savary 'lord of Appleton' who is donating land to the chapel. The Savarys are members of an important family of the 12-13th centuries. It is an unusual name and is the same name as the 12th century Lord of the Manor of Spaunton, the Abbot of St. Mary's. It may be that the manor holding of Appleton was a special gift of the Abbot of St Mary's and one which he might grant to a relation. In a similar way, in the 14th century, John of Gilling was Abbot of St. Mary's and at the same time John of Gilling of Dweldappleton and Elena his wife were the Chief tenants of Appleton.

The period of these substantial families living in Appleton ties in with the same period as the several phases of the oven. These families are of a likely stature to occupy a manorial holding in Appleton, found its medieval chapel and enjoy the manorial perquisites, such as the mill (in 1236 there is a record of William de Savari subletting Appleton Mill). They would also be likely families to establish and hold the common oven. As H.S. Bennett (1960, 135-7) comments 'the peasant was forbidden to bake his bread at home or anywhere, save in

a special oven constructed for the purpose and belonging to the lord.' The common oven may seem a form manorial oppression, giving rise to disputes over the tricks of the baker and of burnt and lost loaves. However, it would also be a common convenience for the villager who would not be able to afford to construct his own oven and whose simple thatched dwelling would not be a safe place to house such an oven.

The most likely location in Appleton of the manor and chapel, as well as the common oven, is at the south end of the village at Tithe Award closes 202 and 203. In the light of the possibilities of a manorial history linked to these TA closes, it would be helpful to give the specific entries of these closes on the Tithe Award. I would now turn to the Tithe Award for Appleton.

Tithe Award

The Tithe Award (fig. 1) is the first record that gives a specific description of the close in which the oven is located and of the area surrounding it. The Tithe Award is dated 1848 and consists of a map and numbered text. The area of the oven is set out as follows:

John Harding a farmer of c50 acres (20 ha), owns and occupies:	A.R.P.*
Nos. 202 Barn, garden and coating	.0.020. (oven site)
203 House, garth and tofts	1.0.20. (Manor house and possible chapel site)
205 Tofts and stackyard (meadow)	1.0.29.

*=acres, rods, perches

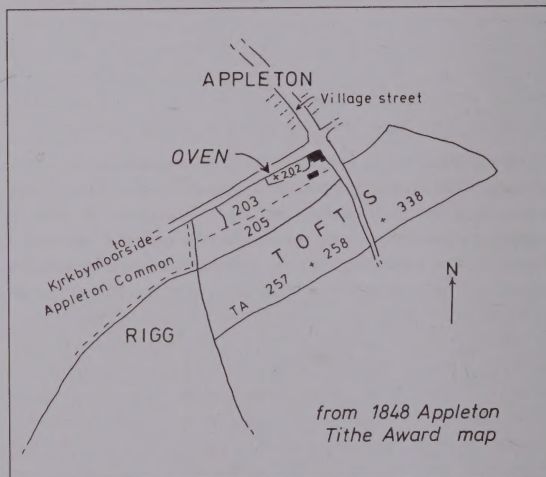


Fig. 1

Discussion of TA 202 and 203

The Tithe Award close 202 contained the oven site and is described on the TA as consisting of:

- a barn - which it is not possible now to identify
- a garden - which in the 20th century has been an old orchard of apple trees
- a coating - may mean shelter/shed

A curious word, the only instance of its use in the local parish records, or deeds, wills, etc. It could be an old term. The only similar use of the word occurs in 1566 in the sale of St Mary's Abbey's estate in Appleton, when a farm with a dovecote is sold. (Dovecote implies a property of manorial status).

The Manor house farm complex (203) consisted of the 18th century house with a long cruck house attached, presumably of a 17th century date and now used as a barn, as well as the farm buildings, garth and tofts.

It is interesting to note that TA 202 with the oven site is a separate close. It appears to have been carved out of the main house and garth (203). This arrangement or division is different from the other houses and garths along the village street, which are simple units consisting of their one curtilage of house, garth, orchards etc. I do not know why 202 should have been divided off. It is likely to have happened at an early date as the TA entries tend to conserve an old layout. I can only speculate that the close may have been marked for a special use, such as the common oven.

Other possible early history of oven site

A. Old arable. As mentioned above, the other possible early history of the area of the oven site, apart from its manorial associations, might be that it was old arable land. The area was ploughed in the 1970's and produced a poor barley crop. The two adjoining closes of 203 and 205 are described partly as 'tofts'. 'Tofts'

is also the name of a medieval furlong (block of strips of arable land in the old open field), which lay to the south and east of 205. There is a charter of the 13th century when 'William, son of Savaric of Appleton, granted to St Mary's Abbey one acre on the south side at the Tofts next to the vill' (St. Mary Chartulary f 196-7). It is very probable that the medieval furlong of the 'Tofts' was TA 257, 258, and 338, and that it may have included TA 205 and part of 203. It may even have included 202, in which case the oven site may have been part of the old medieval fields of Appleton.

B. Manorial waste. Another suggestion for the possible early history of the oven site was that it lay on the manorial waste. I think that this is a less likely possibility. The term 'manorial waste' in Appleton applies principally to:

a. the narrow strip of verge along the roadsides. The oldest houses in Appleton, including the cruck barn (formerly a house) of Manor Farm, are built up to this strip. The oven site lies well back of this narrow strip of verge (at approx. 6-8 m from the roadside).

b. Appleton Common. It might be argued that Appleton Common was once more extensive and included the area of the oven site. The boundary of Appleton Common according to the 1848 TA adjoined the close 205 (see fig.1). It is likely that this is a very ancient boundary of the Common where it adjoined the village's old open field of the Holme.

References

1. *Ryedale Historian*, No. 13, pp. 48-62
2. Bennett, H.S., *Life on the English Manor*, 1960, pp 135-7.
3. *Tithe Award*, Borthwick Institute, York.
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THE ARCHAEOLOGY

by Philip Rahtz (incorporating comments by Basil Wharton)

Introduction (fig 2)

The main street of Appleton lies roughly north-south. From the south end the road turns west to join the A170 below. There are buildings on either side of this corner, and a few on the north side beyond the turn. On the other (south) side, however, there was until recently an orchard, relatively open ground, with unfenced common to the west (fig 2). Somewhere in this part of the village, perhaps near the corner, there may have been a manorial site and chapel, as discussed above.

In the 1990's the orchard area began to be developed for domestic housing. The operations were watched, but very little material of any date turned up. In 1994 however, the clearing of ground for 'Stone Ridge' revealed a substantial stone structure with a pitched floor, one area of which was clearly burnt. This was orientated west-east; to the south, about a metre away from the edge, were several aligned stones (on plan, fig 5) which could be the residue of a wall foundation or path. No other walls or evidence of occupation was seen to suggest that the oven might have been inside a building or yard area. A few sherds of medieval and later pottery were recovered from disturbed levels.

While the wall foundations around the perimeter of the structure had generally well-defined inner edges, the outer edges were vague and merged into the ground around (which was by this time heavily compacted and disturbed by building machinery). The surfaces of the foundations were relatively level, but the eastern area of pitched stone was slightly convex, rising c 10cm above the surviving level of the foundations (section, fig 5).

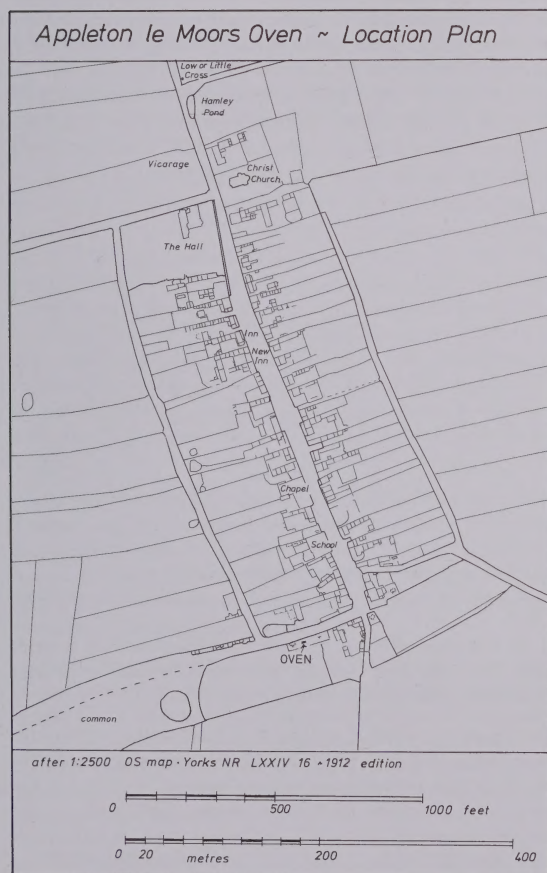


Fig. 2

It was decided to dissect the feature to determine its structural detail, as there was no chance of its preservation in front of the house being built. All the floors and layers below them were removed; the south half of the west wall (C on fig 5) was removed to allow the completion of the longitudinal section (fig 6); and finally most of the south wall of the oven area was removed. It was not possible to remove the north wall, as by this time it had become covered with builders' debris. The work began with a plan, made in June 1994, by M. Tebb and excavations began in May, continuing into mid-July. The work was done by members of the Helmsley Archaeological Society: Margaret Allison, Philip Rahtz, Basil Wharton, Betty Blizzard, Joy Ramsay, and Lorna Watts. Philip Rahtz drew the plans and section for publication. We are grateful to Dr Allan Hall, of the Environmental Archaeology Unit of the University of York, for examining and



reporting on soil samples from the excavation (Appendix B below), to Dr. Colin Hayfield for comments on the pottery (Appendix A below); and to the building contractors and owner for their forbearance in allowing us to examine the structure.

The internal floors and other layers were wholly removed; the stone walls were mostly removed, and the rest remain buried *in situ* beneath the front garden of 'Stone Ridge'.

The three phases of the oven are now described in the order in which they were constructed. Figs 3-5 show each phase, and fig 6 is a longitudinal section showing all three phases.

Detailed description

Oven Phase 1 (fig 3)

The first oven consisted of a rectilinear slightly irregular burnt area (Z), level for the most part, but sloping up towards the east end (fig 6). West of this was a deeper area (Y) approached via a shallower sloping area to the west (X).

The burnt area was of brownish-yellow clay, burnt to a bright orange-red colour (oxidised) and slightly hardened. The natural strata below this were of yellowish-brown clay and angular stones, presumably head material, clay and rock fragments derived by weathering of the underlying Corallian limestone. Less probably it might be solifluction material from a nearby source; the stone fragments look like the local bedrock (the upper limestone, also Malton Oolite, of the Corallian series). The clay of the burnt floor was however stone-free, and it would appear that the area had been stripped of turf and topsoil, and a thin layer of clay laid down for the floor. This was mostly up to 10 cm. deep, but 20 cm deep in the NE

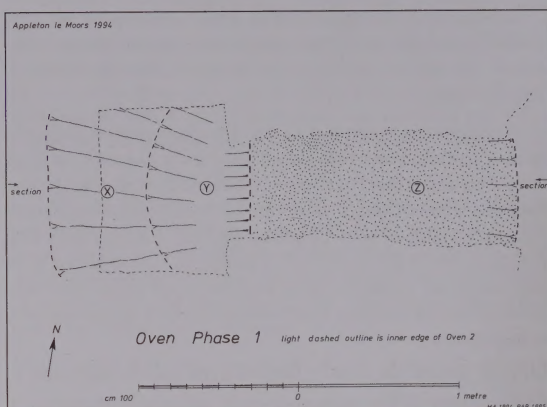


Fig. 3

corner. Here there was a hollow; the surface of the natural sloped down towards the stones of the north wall; had it been possible to remove these stones, the nature of this hollow might have become clearer. The clay forming the matrix of the burnt floor thus extended beneath the north wall, deepening in this direction; under the south wall it was thin and ill-defined. The burnt surface of Phase 1 was up to 5 cm. thick; it did not extend under the adjacent walls (except the secondary east wall D) and might thus be thought to be a primary floor associated with the walls (H, J) which enclosed it. These were however, bonded to the western elements of the stone structure (E, C, F) which were clearly secondary to the hollow (Y) and slope (X) of Phase 1.

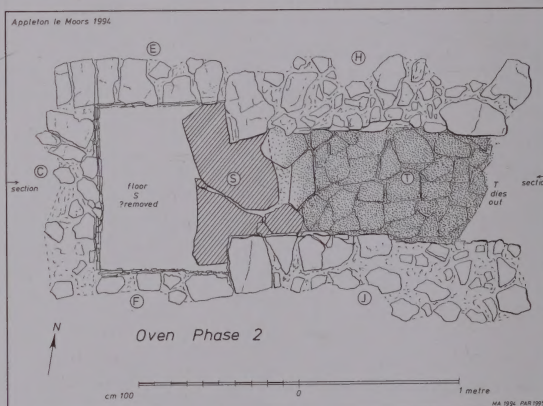


Fig. 4

It is thus uncertain how the burnt floor Z was enclosed. It seems most likely that there were clay walls on either side, which were replaced by stone walls on the same lines in Phase 2.

It is suggested that Z, and any structure enclosing it formed the body or flue of an oven, with a clay superstructure above it, possibly as a vault, with a chimney or vent at the east end. The hollow area is seen as the stoking area for the oven, and the slope beyond it to the west as the approach to this. The hollow and slope were filled with dark brownish-yellow clayey soil, with charcoal of oak and aspen/willow/poplar (Appendix B, sample 1) and a few stones (VV on section, fig 6). Part of this may have been the result of an accumulation of mud, washed in and trodden, during the use of the oven; or may be partially or wholly material put in after its abandonment. Sherds (see below) in VV provide some dating evidence for Phase 1, and indeed for all three phases.

Oven, Phase 2 (fig 4)

This represents a substantial restructuring of the first oven. Stone walls up to three or four courses deep were built around the remains of Phase 1. H and J lay to north and south enclosing a narrow rectilinear area (T): to the west of this and bonded to H and J, were three further walls E, C and F, enclosing an almost square area S.

The walls, of local Corallian limestone and a few pieces of sandstone, with a clay packing, were reasonably well-faced in their inner sides. It would appear that an irregular wall-trench was dug, and the walls put in, their outer edges merging into the undisturbed clay and stones beyond (MM and NN are external layers to the west, shown in section fig 6, MM being slightly darker. NN could be of Phases 1 or 2 or both).

It was notable that the inner faces of the walls showed only slight traces of reddening or other heat discolouration, extending in places into cracks between the stones.

The eastern area T was floored with stone, heavily burnt to a dark bluish-grey colour - a reducing atmosphere in contrast to the oxidising atmosphere of Phase 1. The floor appeared to have been one large stone, c 100+ x 70 cm. which had split and fragmented into a kind of crazy paving, with a smooth (worn) surface. This was more or less co-terminous with the burnt floor of Phase 1, again sloping up to the east, presumably with a vent or chimney above the end. The floor of Phase 1 extended a little further (section fig 6) and this part may also have been re-used in Phase 2.

The burning of T faded out towards the opening into the western area S; but one of its stones, on the north side, as shown in fig 4, lapped over the floor of S. The latter included one large unburnt stone (c 125 x 70 cm.), broken into pieces after it was laid down. This extended under walls E, H, F and J, showing that it had been set first, before the walls were built. This big stone extended westwards over the fill VV of Phase 1 (section, fig 6), sagging slightly into it. It is conjectured that there had been more such slabs in the squarish area S, forming a complete stone floor; but that they (not being integrated into the walls) had been robbed out before Phase 3 was built. If such a floor had existed, it would have been set on the slight offset of wall C at the west end.

We suggest that Phase 2 similarly represents the basal elements of a large oven, with a stoking area S, and a flue-like body, with enclosing walls and a burnt floor T, a vent or chimney, and probably again a clay vault: similar to Phase 1 but much more substantial, and with an operational method that produced a reducing rather than oxidising atmosphere, perhaps for smoking?

On the big broken slab of S was the only substantial accumulation of charcoal found, of oak, ash, and willow/poplar/aspens (Appendix B, sample 2). No other finds could be securely assigned to this phase, though the sherds in VV provide some *terminus post quem*; and if VV is seen as a fill preparatory to the building of Phase 2, the sherds could have been deposited at the inception of Phase 2. They do in any case provide a TPQ for Phase 3.

Oven, Phase 3 (fig 5)

The final oven, which was that first visible in the building operation, was very substantial, representing a considerable investment of resources.

The walls of Phase 2 were retained, but a closing wall (D) was added at the east end, where there had been a gap in Phases 1 and 2;

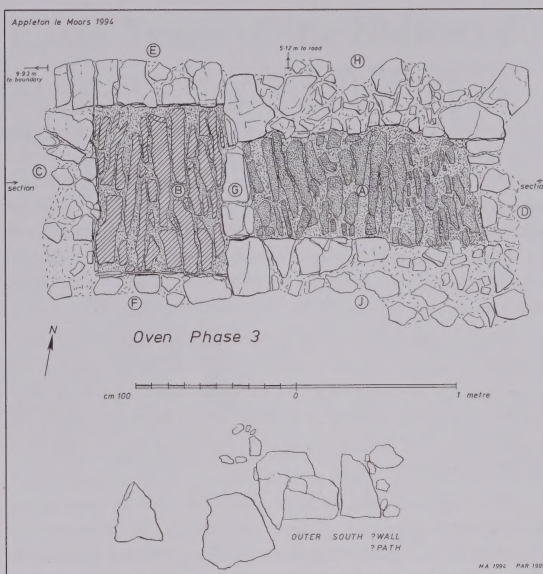


Fig. 5

the division between the flue-like area A and the stoking area B was made more positive by a cross wall G, linking the two 'wings' extending south and north from the west ends of walls H and J. A packing slab was inserted on top of the big slab S (sealing the charcoal deposit mentioned above) to support the stones of G (see section, fig 6).

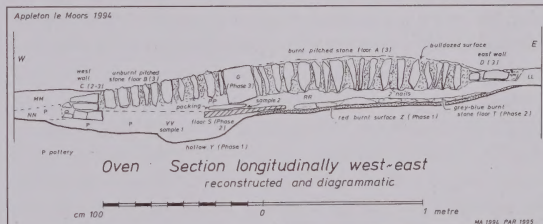


Fig. 6

The new floors were massive - large irregular slabs set on edge in and on a clayey packing (RR in section), closely packed together, rather in the manner of major pitched stone or tile hearths and ovens in castles and other high-status secular sites, notably in kitchens. Those in the 'flue' area A were deeply burnt red and bluish, the discolouring extending in places a centimetre or more into the stone. They were clearly subjected to considerable heat in an oxidising atmosphere. The western floor B, the stoking area, was similarly constructed, but not burnt at all.

Again we would suggest that on the substantial structure there was a superstructure of clay, probably based only on walls G, H, J and D, over floor A, and probably a vault. It will be seen in the section that the whole of the basal floors of the Phase 3 oven was notably convex in its west-east profile. While the western part could be envisaged as having subsided into the earlier stoking-hollow, the same argument cannot be applied to the main pitched-stone area, which seems to be deliberately convex, though some degree of subsidence is apparent, as witnessed by wall G and the pitched stones to the east of it.

Discussion

by Margaret Allison and Philip Rahtz

It would seem very likely that the three phases of the oven represent successive stages in the development of a structure with the same function. Each had a narrower east element, and a wider western element. The former is interpreted as the oven floor, and the latter the stoking area. In Phase 2 and possibly 1, the oven floor could be envisaged more as the base of a flue with an eastern chimney; there is no evidence however that this was the case in Phase 3, but any heightening of the walls above the part found may well have been removed.

There is however no evidence of a through-draft of sufficient intensity to have scorched the sides of the walls at the sides of the burnt floors, so it would seem that the appellation of the word 'kiln' (say for the drying of grain or malting) would be inappropriate. We would interpret the structure as an oven for the baking of bread, other cereal preparations, or meat.

This is not to say that the burning on the floor of the oven did not reach high temperatures; in each case the degree of burning is apparent; notably in the final Phase 3. One difference in the three ovens that may be noted is that only in Phase 2 was the atmosphere a reducing one, the other two being oxidising, perhaps reflecting no more than a varying efficiency of any ventilation.

We would suggest that in all three phases there was a clay superstructure initially built up on a wooden framework and given a preliminary (hot) firing to bake it to a hard consistency. In Phases 1 and 2 there would appear to have been a vent at the east end at ground level, but this is not certain in Phase 3. It should be noted that the orientation of the oven is such as to take advantage of the prevailing west wind.

It seems probable that the mode of operation was to pile wood of some form (small billets or brushwood of various species) into the oven, the operator crouching at the level of the floor, or (more conveniently in Phase 1, in a hollow). A positive division between the stoking area and oven proper is apparent in all three phases, where one can imagine an arched opening at the west end of the clay superstructure.

After one or more firings of the fuel, the ashes would be raked out (though there was little surviving evidence for this); and the cooking load then introduced.

Such a mode of operation is still commonly to be seen in the Mediterranean countries, though the oven is normally there of a circular form, with a clay dome.

An alternative type of structure was considered for all three phases: that the burnt areas observed were (as their rather long and narrow plan might suggest) really flues, and that in each phase (especially in phases 2 and 3) there was an upper floor on which any baking or drying was done. Such upper floors are common in Roman malting or corn-drying ovens; in most cases there is, however, positive evidence for such an upper floor (usually of stone) which is lacking at Appleton.

Finally, we should consider the status of the structure in relation to the historical background of the village as discussed above. It was set outside the village proper, in a relatively isolated location, perhaps because of the smell it caused. It could have been solely for the use of a small 'private' community, such as a manor, grange, or even a

monastic group; in land controlled by them. The alternative would be its identification as a 'common oven', for general use, such as that noted in the late 15th century documentation for Salton (Raine ed. 1864, 72-6).

This does not preclude its having been built by a high-status lord or other person, as its substantial character might suggest; it would then be 'hired' for the benefit of those tenants whose own houses lacked an oven of sufficient size for the 'big baking' or the Sunday joint; at a fee. The oven may even have been, like the mill, a manorial monopoly, and its operation a source of revenue. Whatever its function and status, it is a notable addition to the medieval material culture of Appleton le Moors.

The meagre finds assemblage, together with the archive (consisting of the excavation records and photographs) have been deposited at the Rural Life Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

Raine, J., ed., 1864. *Cartulary of the Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Soc. II, nos. 44 and 46.

APPENDIX A

The Finds

Apart from a few pieces of animal bone, a nail, and a little charcoal (see below), the only finds were 48 sherds of pottery. This is not described in detail here, but a descriptive catalogue is in the archive. It will ultimately be considered by Margaret Allison in the context of other groups of pottery found in the past at Appleton le Moors and the surrounding area.

Of the 48 sherds, 16 were glazed, a proportion suggestive of a relatively prosperous household; the rarity of cooking-pot sherds suggest that the assemblage is derived from table rather than kitchen refuse.

The sherds have been kindly examined and commented on by Dr. Colin Hayfield. Apart from one post-medieval sherd (16-17th century) found in disturbed soil outside the oven, all the sherds are of the 13-14th centuries A.D., though a few from upper unsealed levels might be a little later, into the 15th century.

About half of the sherds come from sealed levels of phases 1-2; none of these are likely to be earlier than c 1200, or later than c 1400; no closer dating is at present possible until there has been wider study of the medieval pottery of this area. All the sherds could be contemporary, and may have been current in a relatively short time span. They would appear to date the oven to this part of the medieval periods, though one must be wary of the problems of residuality and context; the dirt in which they were incorporated may have come from anywhere. Almost as many pots are represented as the number of sherds; many sherds are abraded.

APPENDIX B

Charcoal from two samples associated with a medieval oven from a site at Appleton-le-Moors, N. Yorkshire

by Dr. Allan Hall, Environmental Archaeology Laboratory, University of York (Report 95/5).

Introduction and methods

Two samples of sediment sealed beneath a thick stone paving of the latest phase (3) of a medieval oven at Appleton-le-Moors were

submitted for analysis of charcoal and other plant remains. The material was described in the laboratory and the whole of each sample soaked in water and washed to 300 µm following the methodology of Kenward et al (1980). A "washover" for less dense material was taken from the samples and the two fractions dried in an oven. Both washovers and residues were then examined under the binocular microscope.

Results

Sample 1: 'soil and charcoal from base at W end' (layer VV in fig. 6).

Somewhat varicoloured (mid brown to mid grey-brown to mid yellow-brown, crumbly (working plastic when wet), sandy clay silt with stones to 30 mm and a little charcoal.

The residue consisted mainly of angular to subangular stones (mostly fine-grained oolite) to 50 mm, with a little micaceous sandstone, and modest amounts of sand-grade sediment (mainly undisaggregated clay, with ooliths and quartz sand). The washover comprised trace amounts (<1 g in total weight) of charcoal to 10 mm, of which some could be identified as oak (*Quercus*) and some as willow/poplar/aspens (*Salix/Populus*)

Sample 2: 'soil and charcoal sealed under centre of oven' (on floor 5 as in fig 6) (weight 1.62 kg).

Dark grey-brown, crumbly (working plastic), sandy silty clay with abundant charcoal.

The residue was of angular to subangular fine-grained oolite to 30 mm with a trace of rounded brick/tile to 10 mm and large amounts of sand, mostly quartz. The washover, which made up about 30% by volume of the combined washover and residue, was mostly charcoal to 15 mm (but mainly <5 mm). Fragments identified as oak were present, together with tentatively identified ash (*Fraxinus*) and willow/poplar/aspens. The wood had come from trunk or branch wood and much of it was difficult to handle or identify, being either very crumbly or 'glassy' and coal-like. Also present were at least five snail shells of *Cecilioides acicula*, a species likely to have burrowed into the sediment post-depositionally.

Archive

The residues, charcoal and all paper and electronic archives relating to the work described here are currently stored at the EAU, York.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Prof. Rahtz for bringing this material to his attention and to English Heritage for permission to undertake the work.

Reference

Kenward, H.K., Hall, A.R., and Jones, A.K.G. (1980). A tested set of techniques for the extraction of plant and animal macrofossils from waterlogged archaeological deposits *Science and Archaeology* **22**, 3-15.

Early Years of the Helmsley and District Archaeological Society.

by John McDonnell.

The immediate aftermath of the Second World War was a time of much self-searching in British hearts and minds. Politically, the Labour victory at the election of 1945; the country's 'loss of an Empire' (in Dean Acheson's words), and failure to find an alternative world - role, enforced a reappraisal. Culturally, service men and women returning to civilian life took a fresh look at their communities and their values, and found much to ponder on. The increase in opportunities for higher education brought new emphasis in academic disciplines, not least in history and archaeology. Kings and Pharaohs and battles went out of favour, and artefacts, manor court rolls and the revelations of aerial photography supplanted them. It was a time when local studies began to be included in university courses, and the quiz programme 'Animal, Vegetable, Mineral' aroused popular interest with the faintly boulderish charm of Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the more subtle expertise of Glyn Daniel and other members of the panel.

Into this context (or 'mindset' as the current cliché has it), was born what started life as the Helmsley and Area Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The prime movers were Captain J.C.C. Foott, the Earl of Feversham's Agent in Helmsley, and Mr. R.J. A. Bunnett. The latter was a leading light, and at the time, Secretary of the parent Society in Leeds, a resident of Harrogate but with local connections: he had already helped establish the Doncaster Group and the Georgian Section of the Y.A.S.

The inaugural meeting of the Helmsley Group took place at the Scout Hall on 5 December 1950, on a bitter, wintry evening which prevented some out of town supporters from attending. Even so, what the minutes call 'a large attendance' gave an enthusiastic launch to the group. Its purpose was to 'gather together periodically for lectures and discussions on archaeological subjects, with special emphasis on 'local' history. It was planned to 'educate the general public and teach them to appreciate the past - this particularly applies to the younger generation'. The group was also to collect and record data and 'act as watchdogs over the ancient monuments'. The hope was also expressed that a small library might be developed. (The volumes accumulated to this end, after years spent in a cupboard in the one-room Helmsley Public Library, are now at the National Park Office, Old Vicarage, Bondgate).

Lord Feversham was invited to be President, Capt. Foott was elected Chairman, and Mr Bunnett took on the combined roles of Secretary and Treasurer. Mr W. A. Beechcroft of Church Street, Helmsley was made Hon. Local Secretary; his efforts were to be regularly acknowledged by Mr Bunnett in his annual reports to the Y.A.S. Two out of six committee members, Messrs. E.W. Williams, and J.S. Hugill, were elected on the spot. The subscription was set at two shillings and sixpence a year, a figure designed to encourage the enrolment of younger members.

From this promising beginning the group grew steadily in size, rising from 86 in the first year to 116 in 1952, and remained in three figures for the next decade. Captain Foott left the district in 1952 and was replaced by Mr. Theodore Nicholson, of New Hall, Arden, who was to have a long and successful incumbency. When age and infirmity forced Mr Bunnett to resign in 1960, he was succeeded by Mr and Mrs. G.W. Allenby combining the roles of Secretary and

Treasurer. Thus began a partnership which flourished and enabled the group to start on the task of compiling *The History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District* which achieved publication with the Stonegate Press, York in 1963. With the exception of a short section on the Kirkdale Cave by J.G. Rutter, Curator of the Scarborough Museum, it was entirely the work of Helmsley Group members. Pre-eminent among them, of course, was Raymond Hayes, whose definitive four chapters and 16 appendices on the prehistory of the area were the foundation of the whole 472 page volume.

The Lost Watermill Of Kirkdale: The Spout Bank Fulling Mill In Cogg Hole And The Weaving Establishment

by Isabel Anne McLean

"A fine frosty clear droughty day. Sized a warp and churned in the forenoon. In the afternoon wove 5 yards."

So wrote Cornelius Ashworth, a yeoman weaver of Waltroyd near Halifax in November 1782¹; and so likewise Thomas Ward of Kirkdale in the township of Skiplam might have written in the same month and year. A small farmer and weaver, he lived at the bottom of Spout Bank on the west side of Kirkdale below the farms of Skiplam, Ewe Cote and Wether Cote strung along Skiplam Rigg. "Droughty" was a word used by Helmsley weavers a century later², alluding to their thirst-inducing occupation. There is some evidence in Ryedale of the 'dual economy' whereby farmers supplemented their income by weaving in their homesteads - a system better documented in the Pennine area.³ Duncombe Park estate had built a new fulling mill in Bilsdale, completed in 1709⁴ The weaving of 'woollens' required the finishing processes of fulling the woven cloth in a mill and then tentering it in the open. Thomas Ward seems to have run what one might dub a 'triple economy' at Spout Bank since he also rented a fulling mill from the Duncombe Park estate c1781. It seems a remote spot today, rarely visited even by walkers. Yet here, deep in Cogg Hole, there must have been much activity of men, horses and carts for a century c1714-c1818.

Thomas Parker, local historian, describes in 1858 how he used to walk about a mile up Hodge Beck north of Hold Caldron mill in Kirkdale to reach

the ruins of the Woollen and bleaching Establishment settled here by Ralph Richardson of Heathercote who occurred in the year 1720....The late Mr John Ventrice of Eastmoors father of the Discoverer of Kirkdale Cave served his apprenticeship as a Weaver at this place. The last occupier of this Bleaching Mill was the late Mr John Wilks of Slightholmdale who carried on the trade till about forty years ago, but the Woollen weaving establishment was discontinued long before.⁵

Intrigued by these hints I have tried to put flesh on the ghostly bones of Richardson, Ward and Wilkes; and have found that - as is so often the case with Parker's notes - there is a substratum of truth in what may be a jumbled version of events. This gives the local historian a strong 'lead'.

The weaving and fulling of cloth have been closely associated since medieval times and beyond. Place-names in the landscape indicate such associations. The site of the weaving establishment is at the bottom of Cogg Hole, a name used on O.S. maps from the very start though not one that appears on Duncombe Park estate survey maps. Why "Cogg"? probably because the declivity is steep and carts loaded with wool etc would have been 'cogged' as they dropped from the 500' to the 250' contour (wedges placed under the wheels). Alternatively, 'a cog' is a short piece of iron turned at right angles to form a flange which weavers used to prevent the warp from slipping at the end of the beam.⁶

Alerted by Parker to the past existence of these buildings, I recognised what I was looking at when working one day in the Duncombe Park estate archive. A 1781 map of Skiplam⁷ made by surveyor and watercourse master, Joseph Foord, shows a 'Walk Mill' in a loop of the Hodge - and the pictograph of a house on the opposite side of the beck. A mill leat has been dug across the neck of land formed by the meander, and the mill sited towards the point where the tail race rejoins the beck. (See Figure 1 for detail of this map reproduced by permission of the North Yorkshire County Record Office: NYCRO).

The term 'to walk' (or 'waulk') means 'to full', deriving from the ancient practice of treading the woollen cloth in a trough or bath to cleanse, shrink and thicken the material. There was, for instance, a fulling mill at Keldholme in 1567 when Thomas Snowden paid 21 shillings per annum for "a close called Thorney Close and the Walke milne"⁸ One wonders whether the thorn scrub in the close provided the miller's tenter hooks. Foord's 1781 terrier gives the names of closes 78 and 79 as "Walker Low Close" and Walker Pasture.⁹ These belonged to Weather Cote farm and they lie directly on the old track that went up Cogg Hole from the walk mill and headed for Pockley and Helmsley. A walker was, of course, a fuller. In 1808 a field book still listed "Walker Close" together with a "Limekiln Close" nearby at Ewe Cote.¹⁰ Kilns (as evidenced in ruins to be seen today and in field names on old maps) were probably used for burning bracken to provide the potash necessary for cleansing the cloth in the fulling stocks. Agricultural limekilns would probably have doubled up for the purpose. The tentering cloth may have been set up on the low-lying holmes on each side of the Hodge by the mill, though no field names suggest it. The schedule to Tukes and Ayer's 1828 survey of Fadmoor gives "Tenter Garth"¹¹ as lying at the side of "Mill Road" (ie the road to Hold Caldron mill) immediately south of today's Plough Inn: a convenient spot for cloth to have been brought up the steep holloway from upper Kirkdale in earlier years. Thus the Spout Bank weaver-miller had convenient to his hand water for his mill, bracken for his cleansing agent and level closes for the tentering of his woollen cloth. Spout Bank had one other feature to recommend itself to a weaver: its remoteness from all other human habitation meant that when the warps had been set up the weaver could size them on the spot (as Cornelius Ashworth was doing in 1782). Sizing houses were sometimes built a little way out of villages because sizing was a "noxious trade"¹² using urine and excrement.

The Ralph Richardson who, according to Parker, set up the fulling mill and weaving establishment c1720 must be the man who left Wether Cote (or, rather, his tenancy at will) to his nephew, Ralph Richardson in 1734. In that same year an Arbitration Bond of £200 was drawn up between Ralph Richardson the younger and Thomas Rickaby of Skiplam (the former Rievaulx Abbey grange). Charles Slingsby Duncombe, heir to the estate and acting as his father's



Fig. 1 - Detail from 'A Plan of the Township of Skiplam Situate in the Parish of Kirkdale in the County of York' - the property of Charles Slingsby Duncombe Esqr. Taken by J. Foord 1781'. Reproduced by permission of the North Yorkshire County Record Office.

steward made his Arbitration Award "for pacifying composeing ordering" and "ending" the "various suites, actions and differences"¹² between the two yeomen. Ralph Richardson senior's will had left his farm to his nephew "subject to a legacy of eight pounds a year payable to his widow Grace".¹² As Grace Richardson had promptly married Thomas Rickaby it was he who threatened his wife's nephew with court action for nonpayment of her "dower". Duncombe's "writ of dower against the said Ralph Richardson"¹² forced him to pay up so long as Grace Rickaby lived and to pay the costs of all the proceedings.

This same turbulent Ralph Richardson seems to have become a juror of Rievaulx Manor Court (the tenants of Skiplam and Bransdale doing suit at "Rivalx Court" at this time¹³) yet in 1735 he was fined 19 shillings "for Dogen sheep of Skiplam Coman"¹⁴ (ie setting dogs on sheep) and "for Digen up stones and Burnin Liem"¹⁴ (ie limestone) there. In 1736 he was fined 4 shillings "for graving turfs on Skiplam moore" and 14 shillings "for cussing of the Jury" (very probably for fining him!). He or another Ralph Richardson repeated this offence on the Kirby Moorside Manor Court in 1743 when, curiously, he was fined only sixpence "for abusing ye Jury".¹⁵

During Ralph Richardson senior's tenancy of Wether Cote someone had lived at Spout Bank: Kirkdale Parish Registers record the baptisms in 1714 and 1716 of Christopher Carter's two children from

'Spout Bank'.¹⁶ Either Richardson had built the mill etc a little earlier than Parker's date of 1720 or Carter was a tenant farmer at the "Old Farm" on Spout Bank (see the discussion of Joseph Foord's 1781 terrier below). Parker's unpublished poems give glimpses of Wether Cote's weavers which can partly be corroborated from parish registers and manor court verdicts. One called 'Roger Richardson, the wild weaver' tells of a trip to Helmsley market on 7 December 1729. After a day's carousing Roger heads homeward to fair Weathercote but is murdered at Nawton Mere.¹⁷ We are told that Roger was 47 at the time of his death; and this would fit precisely with the date of baptism (1 November 1689)¹⁶ of a Roger Richardson born at Skiplam. That Roger would indeed have been 47 in 1729. Other records and dates suggest (but do not prove) that he was brother to the Ralph Richardson who inherited the Wether Cote tenancy in 1734. Another 'Legend of Weathercote' exhibits 'ancient Richardson' presiding over a houseful of "social weavers" living above the "wild Woods of Weathercote" which wave "oer fair Sleightholm Dale".¹⁷ One night a robber in disguise as a penniless widow insinuates himself into their home. At ten o'clock the "Dame of Weathercote" having ushered "each peaceful Weaver up the oak stair, her waiting maid espies the ruffian's boot below his skirts - and deftly pours a pot of boiling lard down his throat. End of crisis. Here is an example of the dual economy farmstead in the 18th century, c1729. Meanwhile, down in the valley bottom a Flintoft



Fig. 2 - Crown Copyright. 85404M. Detail reproduced by permission from OS Outdoor Leisure 26. North York Moors Western Area.

family lived at Spout Bank, surely weaving or fulling, their children being baptised 1731 to 1734,¹⁶ and Matthew Craik's residence, on the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth at St Gregory's Minster on 2 July 1751 was given as New Mills¹⁶ to distinguish it, presumably, from Hold Caldron mill.

The first contemporary documentation of the fulling mill comes in a Duncombe Park estate rental book for Lady Day 1741 (Skiplam township):

George Richardson for a fulling mill 03 00 00¹⁸

In 1743 he again paid £3 for the mill but also £2 "for Spout Bank".¹⁹ One can surmise that George Richardson had taken over responsibility for the weaving establishment as well as the mill. A 29-year gap occurs at this point in the rentals. However, in 1772 the same George Richardson was still paying £3 "for a Fulling Mill" and £2 "for Spout Bank".²⁰ He seems to have married twice: firstly, Mary Ford of Sleightholmedale on 30 November 1727¹⁶ while tenant of the farm of that name in Skiplam township; secondly, Mary Archer of Helmsley on 17 November 1762²¹ The children of his first marriage were

William (baptised 17 April 1729) and Ralph (baptised 15 September 1737)¹⁶. Mark, son of "George Richardson of Kirkdale" was baptised 4 September 1765 at Kirbymoorside church.²² When George Richardson made his will on 24 November 1785 he could not sign his name, yet he had sufficient money to leave £3 each to his son Mark, Mark's wife Margaret and their child Mary, plus £2 to each of their two sons. To his eldest son, William, he left "al my houses lands tenements"²³ and made him his executor. The names in the will make it certain that it had been one George Richardson running the fulling mill and living at Spout Bank from 1741 to 1772 or later.

Following a further gap in the rental books from 1772, a rental book of 1780 provides the next documentation of the mill. A new family took over the tenancy well before Richardson's death. Thomas Ward had married¹⁶ Mary Bentley in St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale on 25 November 1773. They had six sons baptised 1775-1788 and their residence is consistently given as 'Spout Bank'.¹⁶ Thomas Ward junior was baptised 15 January 1780[1]. In the later baptismal entries, 1786-88, his father is described as "weaver" and a relative, William Ward, also living at Spout Bank, as "labourer"¹⁶.

The 1780 rental lists:

"Tho. Ward & Junr - For the Fulling Mill 3.00"

and

"Thos. Ward & Jun: a piece of Ground in Skiplam quarter, late Geo. Richardson's 2.0.0"²⁴

One year later the terrier of Joseph Foord's Skiplam township survey indicates in some detail just what Thomas Ward's little domain consisted of:

Spout Bank	48	Near Holm
Thomas Ward	49	Far do
	54	Holm late J. Wilson
	55	Old Farm
	55A	Mill ²⁵

Taken in conjunction with Figure 1 this suggests not so much a dual economy as a triple economy way of life. The detail from Foord's map shows Hold Caldron mill ("L") to the left, with the house and mill separate and the latter aligned parallel with Hodge Beck rather than at right angles as it is today. The track to Fadmoor fords the beck whilst a footbridge crosses further downstream from today's stone bridge (built 1861). Two hundred feet above the valley floor the large farm (in close number 50) with homestead, cottage, barns, garth, orchard and bean park is Skiplam, whose tenant in 1781 was John Wilson in right of his wife (*Jure uxoris*) Elizabeth, Joseph Foord's daughter. A mile upstream from the Caldron lies the fulling mill. The passage quoted above gives some idea of how Ward's tenancy worked. He was paying £6 per year for the walk mill and £16.10.4 half-yearly for the 49 acres of his closes. The designation "Old Farm" suggests that this building predated the weaving establishment of c1720. It is probable that it housed the looms as well as the weaver's family, and that he had a weaving room either in the house or added onto the house (the usage in the Pennines). Part of his holmes (which are flat) would probably be used for tentering. It is surprising that no footbridge appears between parcels 55 and 55A allowing passage between the Old Farm and the mill (such a bridge did exist in later times).

Thomas Ward continued to run this mill at the world's end until 1790,²⁶ paying his half-yearly rent of £11.5.0 until 1785 when it was reduced to ten guineas. He was assessed for four shillings land tax in 1781, (the year in which he acted as one of the two collectors) and between seven and twelve shillings in 1782-87.²⁷ He must have had land elsewhere than at Spout Bank.

In 1791 the Lady Day rental book no longer lists him as a tenant. Instead Fadmoor township gives:

"Overseers of Fadmoor Poor	0. 7.6
Overseers of Skiplam Poor (T. Ward's House)	0.10.6" ²⁸
Eight years later the rental books still give:	
"Tho. Ward's Cott. for Skiplam Poor	0.10.6" ²⁸

Could this be the Old Farm? Since the mill had found another tenant (John Wilkes) and another use (perhaps bleaching) it looks as though the Duncombe estate let the cottage/Old Farm as the workhouse for this sparsely populated township (in 1801 Skiplam had seventy inhabitants).²⁹ The title "Thos. Ward's Cott" or "Cottage" which continues 1792-1799³⁰ may merely be a convenient tag for the property, supposing he had been the last individual to rent it. But an intriguing probability occurs: that he continued to live there as a sort

of warden, instructing the workhouse inmates and overseeing the weaving they were obliged to undertake as a means of keeping down Skiplam's poor rate. Parker alludes to the Spout Bank weaving establishment having had apprentices. The overseers of the poor in Addingham, near Ilkley, "saw weaving as a means of self support, and in 1807 provided at least one poor person with a pair of looms 'belonging to the parish of Addingham and marked with the parish mark'."³¹ In 1799 the rent of Skiplam workhouse rose from a guinea a year to £1.10.0, a level maintained till 1813.³² The rent books ceased to use Ward's name in 1800.

The Spout Bank mill's next tenant was John Wilkes, a Quaker and antiquarian who was to give the Rev Eastmead material for his *Historia Rievallensis* of 1824. In 1796 a field book gives the following details of his tenancy in Sleightholme Dale:

John Wilkes	8.	Limekiln Close
	9.	Web Garth
	25.	Homestead & garth
	27.	Bank end
	A.	Brow 1/2 of Fulling Mill & Holme ³³

The mill and holme cost £4 per annum. No farm name is given but a careful comparison with Tukes and Ayer's 1828 survey (with map and terrier) establishes that Wilkes' farm was today's Aumery Park. His land ran to 138 acres, mostly to the east of the house, the mill lying a mile to the south-west. In 1808 another field book³⁴ shows him renting the same land and the "Fulling Mill & Holme" for £4.10.0 per annum. The names "Limekiln Close" and "Web Garth" indicate a connection with the manufacture of cloth. If Parker were right (but he cannot be trusted in detail) about this being a bleaching establishment at this time, it would be linen that Wilkes was weaving or importing from the area around him. That linen weaving was a cottage industry in Ryedale at this period is well-documented.³⁵ There was a fortnightly market for "linen webs"³⁶ at Helmsley in the late 18th century. According to John Tuke in 1800 many small farmers in the North Yorkshire Moors area kept "two, three or four looms"³⁷ for the weaving of coarse linens. Kirkdale Parish Registers c1780-1815 record flaxdressers and hecklers and, in 1784, a "singler" (ie a beater of flax) living at Sleighthomedale farm in Skiplam.

Before the discovery of chloride of lime (bleaching powder) at the turn of the century, lime was often used as an alkali in the boiling of linen webs.

Whether it was a fulling or a bleaching mill, Parker implies that Wilkes continued working the mill until c1818. Tukes and Ayer's survey¹⁰ shows that by 1828 a John Bulmer was tenant of Wilkes' old farm; though he rented the "Mill Holme"¹⁰ at Spout Bank Bulmer did not rent the mill. Nor did he have a Web Garth: it seems to have been re-named as "Limekiln Close" since two closes with that name lay next each other, serving no doubt purely agricultural purposes. John Wilkes moved to Kirbymoorside and was buried in the Quaker burial ground there - a quiet ending to a story which must have been loud with the beat of the water wheel and the fulling hammers deep in Cogg Hole.

Anyone visiting the mill site today can pick out the position of the weir built 270 years ago, together with the pool scooped out of the river bank immediately above it; though the fruit trees mentioned by Parker⁵ have gone. Two ancient and magnificent oaks stand sentinel over the mill leat which is silted up but instantly recognisable. Across

the Hodge one encounters extensive nettled areas (signs of past human activity): the site of the weaving establishment. Disused cart-tracks and footpaths here make a crossroads. Despite the scum of the conifer plantation that has gone over it, this bank bottom (once clothed in lily of the valley and all the associated flora of oak and ash woodland) retains an aura of human presence emanating from these small signatures of activity. No buildings stand; and though I have (by courtesy of the landowner, Lady Clarissa Collin) hunted for the petrifying spring of Thomas Parker's poem I can find no sign of petrification in the very large spring which issues from Spout Bank in Cogg Hole:

Lines on visiting the Petrifying Spring at Spout Bank near Slightholm Dale

Where Caldron's woods their sheltring boughs oer fair Spout Bank
doth rove,
I took a lone but lovely walk through Brockills peaceful Grove,
The tuneful songsters of the woods their warbling notes did sing
As up the Vale I passed to view the petrefying Spring.
That issues from the Walkmills bank the walkmills bank alone,
Adown a wild and winding course and turns the leaves to stone;...
When first I saw this peaceful spot a Bleaching Mill was here,
Now in an llet to the east its ruins doth appear;
And here upon the sloping bank some eighty years ago,
The sliding Shuttle through the loom the weaver learnt to throw,
From cheerful morn till mirthful noon from noon to evening grey,
But now alas this Craftsmans shop like Thebes is swept away,
And left alone our favourite spring that rushes down the Dale
On either side where blooms untouch'd the Lilly of the Vale.³⁸

NOTES

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11. Tukes and Ayer, 1828, ZEW IV 1/13/8.
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25. ZEW IV 2/23/1.
26. Helmsley Rentals/Audits 1782-1790, ZEW IV 5/10-23.
27. Land Tax Roll, Ryedale wapentake, QDE (L) mic 240, NYCRO.
28. Lady Day Rentals 1791 and 1799, ZEW IV 5/24 and 5/37.
29. Population return (Rydale wapentake) 1801, QDZ mic 2710, NYCRO.
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31. K.M.Mason, *op cit*, pp28-29. On the subject of 'outwork', workhouse looms and the provision of looms to paupers, see R.P.Hastings, *Poverty and the Poor Law in the North Riding of Yorkshire c1780-1837* (Borthwick Paper No 1), University of York Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1982, ppl2-16.
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37. *A General View of the Agriculture of the North Riding*, 1800,p312.
38. From Parker's second notebook; undated; internal evidence indicates a date of c.1862. Quoted by kind permission of Mr Anthony Clark.

Acknowledgements My thanks go to John Rushton for advice and to NYCRO staff whose unfailing good humour and expertise were crucial to an amateur. My research on Joseph Foord continues.

Stang End Farmhouse in Danby Dale; the people who lived there and some reminiscences

by E. Blizzard

Danby Dale is one of the larger dales in the North Yorkshire moors. Dale End, the most northerly part of the dale is about 12 miles from Whitby. Until the coming of the railway there was little development at Dale End. The North Eastern Company's (Grosmont and Whitby Branches) Act was passed in July 1861 - the line to be completed by 1866 - the station to be just west of Dale End Bridge. At this point the line runs north of the Esk and south of Stang End across fields belonging to the farm. Stang End is marked on the OS map of 1856 (before the railway), and on those of 1892 and 1894. In October 1965 the then owner, Charles Farrow, who wanted to put up some new buildings, told Bert Frank he could have the old thatched house for the museum at Hutton le Hole. The story of how it was taken down and transferred, piecemeal, to what is now the Ryedale Folk Museum, is told in Bert Frank's Diary.

In 1956 the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal published a detailed description of the house by Mary Nattrass. 'The house in Danby parish known as Stangend...is a fine example of the house on crucks...the early 'long house' of the kind occupied for centuries by the yeoman farmer. It has the cross passage with external doors opposite each other; from this passage there was, and is, access to the 'house place' on the left, and on the right there was the byre, or...offices of various kinds. This is one the parental plans found all over England and Wales... At Stangend the screen, the bressummer beam, the witch post, and salt boxes are in their characteristic places'.

In his book, 'Some Reminiscences and Folk Lore of Danby Parish and District' published in 1953, Joseph Ford also describes the house, saying that the section to the east of the cross passage is the oldest part, and was probably built in the 14th century, the section west of the passage was improved in 1704, and then the restoration of the east side was carried out. According to Ford, 80 years ago Stang End was spoken of by old people as the home of the parish priest. Three grotesque stone images carved above the fireplace may have something to do with this identification which may have endured for generations. Mrs Nattrass says the house was known as the old Vicarage, and that traces of foundations in the river bank suggest that a 'stang bridge' or wooden footbridge may have served as an approach to the church. And in his booklet, 'St Hilda's Church, Danby' the Revd. David Adam says that, by tradition, Stang End was the priest's house in the Middle Ages, and that Thomas Tate, perpetual curate from 1779 - 1780, lived there.

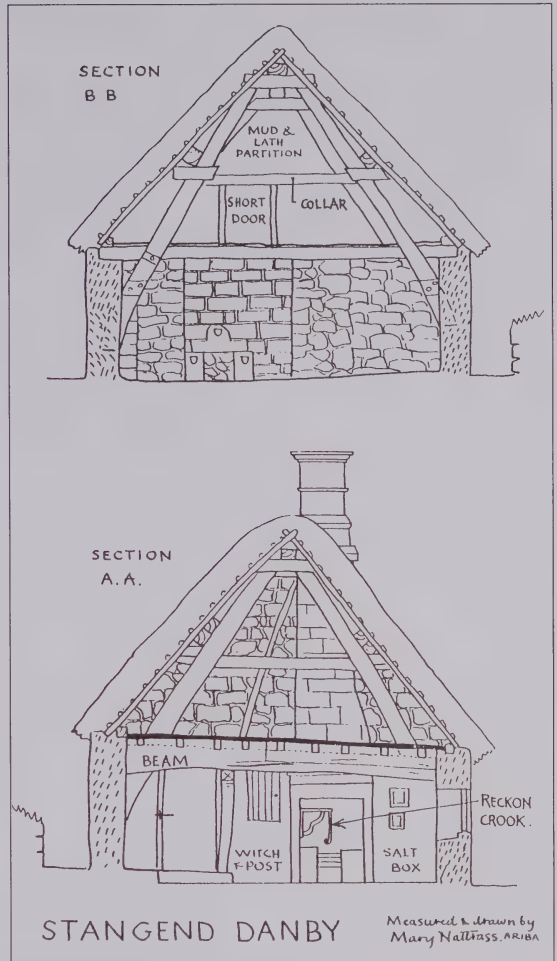
The word, stang, is given several meanings; a stone, either upright or a boundary stone; a pole; two poles on which hay is carried; 'riding the stang' - running anyone behaving immorally out of the village.

In Danby marriage register two marriages are recorded of people with Stang as a surname;

3 October 1585, Richard Mawson married Alice Stang.

10 January 1591, Thomas Stang married Elizabeth Campion.

Did these people take their name from the house they occupied?



Reproduced by kind permission from the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 1956.

Owners of Stang End

GEORGE CAMPION 24 May 1655, Grant of Probate and Administration to Isabella Campion, Widow. On 24 January 1618 George Campion married Isabella Agar. On 18 September 1655 George Campion married Isabella Stonehouse.

In 1656 Sir Henry Danvers sold Danby estate in parcels to various purchasers. Could Stang End had been bought then by the George Campion who married Isabella Stonehouse on 18 September 1655? He was an Overseer of the Poor in 1663 and 1665.

JOHN HUNTLEY, Senior. Died intestate 1701. Inventory of goods 1701. Isabella, his widow, and John, his son, were granted probate. John was described as a yeoman and was quite comfortably off. He had a cottage and land in Farndale as well as Stang End. He had married Isabella Wilson in Lastingham Church on 10 October 1678. Since there was no will it is not known how he disposed of his property.

JOHN HUNTLEY, Junior. Will and Inventory 1720. John married Anne Scarth in St Hilda's Church, Danby on 18 May 1704. The date on the door lintel at Stang End - IH 1704, and two interlocking rings,

surely relates to John and Anne's marriage, but in what way? Did he build a new chimney in the forehouse, or perhaps put in a new ceiling - improvements for his bride? From John's will dated 1729 we know that Stang End was bought from George Campion and from the wording in the will, not by John himself so he probably inherited it from his father. From the inventory of his goods we have a description of the house and its contents. There was the forehouse with, among other things, a table, a frame, a reckon and tongs. The parlour contained three beds with 'cloaths', two chests, one round table. The chamber over the parlour had a bed and bedding, skeps, a riddle, and a chest.

In the milkhouse were bowls, trenchers, dishes, a tub and other wooden vessels, as well as brass, pewter and iron vessels, together with bread, salt flesh and fish. John owned a horse with its saddle and bridle; two oxen; two steers; five kine; hay and straw; a wain, a sledge, a plough; yokes, harness, and chains for oxen. His purse and apparel were worth £15. The fact that he lent money is attested by the names of eight debtors. He had other property in Danby and in Whitby. He was a literate man (he signed his will) and prosperous. He was an Overseer of the Poor in 1702 and 1722.

After John Huntley died his widow, Anne, lived on at Stang End until her death in 1739. It had been left to her son, Joseph, but he died while he was still a child. Stang End was sold; it is not clear when, perhaps in 1732 when Joseph Huntley died. By 1739 it was owned by:-

JOHN HARTAS Not much is known about the period during which he was owner. There are no entries for the assessment of Poor Rate in the years 1739-48 and 1756-63; was Stang End empty? The rate was 7/1 in other years, except for 1764 when Jonathan Agar was assessed at £1.5.0 for Stang Farm, and in 1765 when the same man was assessed at £1.4.1 for Stang End. In 1766 John Hartas was assessed at £1.4.1. In 1767 the assessment reverted to 7/1 when a new owner was living there. He was:-

WITHAM SUNLEY By Article of Sale dated 1 August 1767, John Hartas, yeoman of Ugthorpe, parish of Lythe, sold Stang End to Witham Sunley, yeoman of Rosedale, for £290. Witham lived until 1793 and was survived by his widow, Hannah, who continued at Stang End until her death in 1815. In his will of 20 October 1789, after money legacies, Witham left everything to his wife, Hannah, so long as she remained unmarried. If she remarried she was to get £3.7.0. a year or, at her death the estate was to go to Witham's niece, Sarah Dodsforth, wife of John Dodsforth, for her life; then to her son, John Dodsforth. He lived at Newns, Ellesmere, Shropshire.

JOHN DODSFORTH By conveyance in fee of Messuage, Dwelling House, Lands, etc., date 31 October 1844, John Dodsforth sold to Thomas Scarth. No price mentioned.

THOMAS SCARTH Thomas had taken part in a perambulation of Boundaries in 1825 (Danby perambulations took place every year). He survived only a few months after his purchase of Stang End; he was buried on 5 February 1845, aged 63. In his will, dated 25 October 1844, he left his cousin, John Scarth of Goathland, 'all that my freehold Farm, Messuage, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Premises with the Tithe etc.,...situate and being at Stang End in the parish of Danby...it being the whole of my lands on the North side of the river Esk and now in my own occupation and the occupation of William Sanderson'.

JOHN SCARTH He was buried on 5 October 1881. In his will dated 14 September 1881, Ann Dowson, daughter of Thomas Boyes, the Elder, described as 'my relative' inherited land in Danby, not

named as Stang Farm but known to be so from a Certificate of Search on behalf of the National Provincial Bank in the name of Ann Dowson from 14 September 1881 (when she inherited) to 21 September 1909, the land then being described as Stang End Farm..

ANN DOWSON In 1927 Ann Dowson sold Stang End to:-

ROBERT JACKSON who apparently held it until 1937 when it was owned by:-

ERNEST WILLIAM JACKSON In 1957 he sold to:-

CHARLES and MARY FARROW The old thatched house had deteriorated and was in a poor state - part was given by Mr Farrow to the Museum at Hutton le Holc. Bert Frank supervised its removal and re-erection at Hutton in 1967.

Through the centuries, though some of the owners had more land elsewhere, the size of Stang End Farm itself remained unaltered - 11 acres.

Others who lived at Stang End

From an entry in Daniel Duck's diary, dated 11 March 1799, it can be seen that Thomas Mead was lodging with Hannah Sunley (her maiden name was Mead). He was elected Churchwarden in 1810. Thomas continued to live at Stang End after Hannah's death in 1815. In 1822 when the 'New Assessment and Rate on the Inhabitants of Danby for the Relief of the Poor' came into effect Stang End was assessed at £9.15.0 and paid 1d in the pound = 9d three farthings. In 1825 it went up to £17.10.0, when Thomas Mead paid 1/5½. In 1825 William and Hannah Hammond were also living there. In 1827, 1830 and 1832 John Robinson and his wife, Elizabeth, were living there but the poor rate was paid by Thomas Scarth: perhaps he was renting the property to house an employee. In 1841 the tenant was William Sanderson, farmer, aged 50, who had a servant, Ann Webster (she died in December 1841). Also there were Joseph Robson and Frank Readman, bachelors both until they married in 1841. William Sanderson was still living there in 1851, with Mary Walshaw as his servant. In 1861 the tenant was George Sanderson, unmarried, whose servant was Alice Boyes (Alice died in May 1863, at Stang End). George was a Churchwarden in 1859 and 1860.

In 1871 there were two families in occupation; George Sanderson and his servant, Elizabeth Brittain; and William Scarth, aged 80, retired farmer, and his wife, Mary Ann, aged 38 and a servant Molly Souter, 19. In 1881 Emmanuel Leng, his wife, Jane, and six children were there, farming five acres (Ralph Scarth was renting the other six acres). In 1891 Stang End was occupied by Robert and Sarah Cornforth and their six children; John, William, Hannah, George, Annie, and Jane. Robert was a farm bailiff. Sarah died at Stang End in 1923 and Robert in 1941, at Railway Cottages. Herbert Dowson and his family followed the Cornforths; Stang End was his first farm where he stayed until 1931. Robert King then became a tenant - Stang End was his first farm - the Kings were the last family to live there, leaving in 1950.

A new Stang End was built on the site of the old house in 1984 and Wendy and Leslie Underwood live there. Wendy is Charles and Alice Mary Farrow's daughter.

Within living memory....Talking to people

It is due to Richard Cornforth, whose grandfather, Robert Cornforth, lived at Stang End, and who himself has memories of it, that I was able to meet and talk to some of the people whose reminiscences are written below.

Mrs Daisy Cornforth, wife of Robert, twin brother of Richard, who

still lives in Danby, kindly lent photographs.

Mrs Maud Tyreman, née Harding, whose mother was Hannah, née Cornforth. Maud and her mother went to live in Stang End with grandfather Robert whose wife, Sarah, had died in 1923 when Hannah herself was widowed. Uncle John lived at home unmarried all his life. He was not very strong having suffered from rheumatic fever as a young farm lad due to bad living conditions. He was a keen gardener, growing vegetables and flowers; he kept bees and rabbits, the hutches being all the way along the front of the house. He also grew prize gooseberries and showed at Egton Show. He led coal from a pony and cart. Mrs Tyreman remembers sleeping in the 'parlour', the bedroom beyond the kitchen.

Mr John Liddell, uncle to Wendy Underwood who now lives at 'new' Stang End, introduced me to Mrs Ness Boyes, née King, who married Thomas Lewis Boyes on 16 May 1946; whose home at that time was Stang End. The cross passage was always cold and sloped towards the front, having two coppers in it - there was no sink - washing up was done in a bowl, the roller tower hanging on a peg in the witch post, put there by her father. The walls were whitewashed. There was a sofa under the window in the kitchen, you stepped down into the kitchen where there was a chest of drawers to the right on the same level. There was a cupboard for pots, a table, and the oven was to the side of the fire on which they burned coal and wood with a salt hole on either side of the fireplace. There was a small room, almost an alcove, opposite the fireplace, with board walls (the other walls were stone) with only room for a narrow bed - she remembers her father sleeping there when he was ill. The stairs were like a ladder and went up between the kitchen and the bedroom next to the window.

Stang End was Herbert Dowson's first farm. His son, John George Dowson was born there on 24 December 1927; his mother was delivered by Dr Jack who was very annoyed at being called out on Christmas Eve just when he was enjoying his frumenty. John Dowson and his wife visited the Ryedale Folk Museum in the summer of 1995 and spoke to Dorothy Ellison. Through this chance meeting I was able to contact his two sisters, Lena Simpson and Dorothy Bulman.

Lena Simpson, née Dowson, was born in 1924, and seven years old in 1931 when the Dowsons left the farm. Lena remembered lots of grass snakes on the railway line; getting turves off the moor and keeping them in the cross passage, and the water-trough between the cowshed and the garden wall to the east of the house, the water coming from the moor above the house.

Dorothy Bulman, née Dowson, was 11 years old in 1931 when the family left. Her mother removed the 'sacking' from the walls by the fireplace and revealed salt cupboards. Her father kept his shaving gear in one of them - she had to get it out for him and didn't like putting her hand into the dark hole. Mr Punch, solicitor, from Castleton, wrote articles for the Whitby Gazette, after they appeared people came to visit Stang End, her mother sold mineral water to them and served teas. The ladder went up to the loft from the kitchen. No one slept in the loft, neither was it used as a food store as, one year, her father hung a side of bacon there and it was eaten by rats, leaving only the rind. The copper was in the passage which had a sloping floor. An apple tree in the garden hung over the water trough; there were greengage trees but the garden was neglected. The track went straight up the field to the road from the back of the house. The doorway into the kitchen was opposite the window with a big cupboard where boots etc. were kept, and there was an 'alcove' opposite the fireplace. It was her parents' first farm - they grew a little corn; kept sheep with a stray on the moor, had a horse, pigs, a couple of cows, beasts - her mother made

butter and cheese. When she began school her father said how much nearer it would be for her if the bridge over the river was still there as it used to be.

I should like to thank most warmly Richard Cornforth of Westfield Grange, Cropton, and Wendy Underwood of Stang End, Danby. Richard for being my guide in Danby and introducing me to people who actually lived in Stang End, and who talked freely of their memories, and lent photographs; and Wendy for lending me deeds, wills, indentures, leases, and other documents relating to Stang End without which my story would have been incomplete.

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An Account of the life of William Eddon; 1837-1917

At the end of this narrative is a note by the author, dated Liverpool, September 8th 1912:- 'This to Willie upon leaving for a second term of Missionary work in North China, love and prayers of Father and Mother'. William Eddon, who wrote this for his son, was born in Pickering and went to school in Helmsley. After leaving home in 1854 he became a minister in the Methodist New Connexion (founded in 1797/98, the result of a desire to give more power to the laity) and spent his working life on circuit in the Midlands and the North. This extract is reproduced by kind permission of his great grandson.

The Helmsley Years; 1840-1854.

'There is a proverb that it is the *first step* which is the most difficult in the achievement of any object, and the proverb has been altered by ascribing the main part of the difficulty to the *last step*.

Sometimes I fancy the difficulty is greatest in what lies between...the intermediate is unassisted by enthusiasm, and it is here we are so likely to fail'.

'I met with the above in a book I was reading the other day and made a note of it. It reminded me of an object to be attempted by me and which I promised to fulfill some time ago, namely to write a sketch of my own life. How simple and easy as that might seem, yet when I have attempted to take the first step many objections and difficulties have come in the way... But the promise made must be fulfilled. Beside the life of every man however obscure and lowly has some value and must have something in and about it worth a record and may be of some interest. So, now to begin.

I was born at Pickering, Yorkshire on the 7th of February 1837. It was Tuesday at 1/4 to 5 o'clock in the Morning. I have this on the most reliable authority, namely the testimony of my Mother (born Ursula Jackson, 31 January 1806). It was not an *ordinary* Tuesday... It was Shrove Tuesday & therefore a special day in the Calendar of the Church, and was connected with a ceremony and custom of great interest which at that time was observed in the home of nearly every family in the land, namely the making, tossing, and eating of pancakes. Therefore the day of my coming into this world was a day of special thanksgiving and rejoicing. What more could you desire? To have been shriven by the priest and then returned home to the bosom of your family to a feast of pancakes must have been a cause of rejoicing to many in the country.

But this auspicious start in my early life was speedily overclouded by something which threatened a short stay and a quick passage out of this new life of mine -, so the Doctor was called in, then the Parish clergyman came to the home to give me a name & a passport to make sure of a welcome to me in the new abode whither it seemed certain I was so soon to start. But the great giver of life willed me to stay and here I am 75 years later, hale and hearty.

My Father, James Eddon was born Augst. 19th 1814 and died at Pickering Augst. 1 1839 aged 25 years. He is said to have died of rapid decline brought on by hemorrhage & thus early Mother was left to face the world with one child under 3 years old & a baby in arms (the baby, James, died four months after his father). I have often wondered what my Father was like - what kind of man he was but I was too young to understand these things then and Mother seems to have buried her trouble in her heart for she scarcely ever mentioned about that bitter experience of her short married life. I am glad however to know that my Father was a good man - a deeply religious man. He was a member of the Wesleyan Church and only a short time before his death his name was put on the Preachers plan of the Pickering circuit. A one sheet tract was printed describing the 'Happy and triumphant death of James Eddon of Pickering', a copy of which I found many years after among my Mother's papers and which I prize very much.

My Grandfather Eddon lived in his own freehold house in Eastgate, Pickering. He was a carrier between Malton and Pickering. The house was a good sized country house with a big garden, stable, cowhouse etc., at the bottom end & some grazing land. Father had arranged to occupy half the house and started a Boot and Shoe trade with the intention of settling in Pickering town. There were several sons and daughters, some of them married and settled in the neighbourhood. But really I know very little about them beyond their names. As soon as possible after my Father's death and the death of my brother, James, and Mother could wind up and get settled all business affairs, she went back to Helmsley to keep house for grandfather Jackson and practically all connection ...ceased. And the

Lord went with her having taken her and her boy into His care and keeping.

Helmsley - marked on the maps as Elmsley Blackmoor, an old Market Town of about 1400 inhabitants - pleasant for situation - quiet, clean & healthy, 14 miles from Pickering, Thirsk and Malton. The 3 towns forming a triangle - surrounded by hills and large tracts of moorland, the river Rye running through it. Richly wooded, some of the woods extending for miles - the dales, hills, hags, & becks well stocked with trout, and the woods with wild fruits and flowers. There also some places of antiquarian interest:- Helmsley Castle, the caves at Nawton & their antedeluvian relics, Duncombe Park & its gardens, terraces and deer grounds, Rivaulx Abbey, Byland Abbey, Bilsdale, Hambleton Hills, and other places. Lord Duncombe was the owner of Helmsley and now (1912) his eldest son, William Ernest, Earl of Feversham, is owner of the towns and villages around and part of Kirby Moorside - my Grandfather's house and about half a dozen other properties being the only freeholds. Helmsley has always been, and will always be to me a pleasant memory, mainly because my childhood and my youth were spent there in our cottage home along with Mother far from the maddening crowd. The place has changed of course since then and nearly all the people I knew are dead and gone but outwardly the town is much the same as it was when I was a boy. The population is about the same and it has pleased the Feversham family to avoid any great innovations or any increase of population. A new house has had to be put up now and then but not until the old house decayed and became unfit for habitation and a new one had to be put up to shelter the old families who lived their life and seemed part of the Feversham estate.

My Grandfather Jackson lived in High St. How he came to be owner of the property I don't know. I believe he apprenticed as farm Servant somewhere up Bilsdale way and having some ambition to better his position he walked to and from Thirsk to learn the trade of a Turner, going to Thirsk after the day's work on the farm. He married a Farmer's daughter named (Ann) Smithies who lived to the age of 92 years. His first business, started in Helmsley, was Turning and making the old fashioned spinning wheels the ladies used in those days. He had a large family and he and his sons, or some of them, added to the Turning business, Joining and Cabinet making. He had 6 sons and 3 daughters. I only knew four of these; my Aunt Colley of Hull was the eldest, and my Mother his youngest; my Uncle William of the Black and White house as it was called, next to Church Gates, Market Place, Joiner etc. who had a large family and most of them Joiners etc., and my Uncle Joseph of York, youngest son, who for many years was foreman Pattern Maker at Walkers foundry...

My Grandfather was not an ordinary man. He must have been very poor to begin life for I believe he was apprenticed to the farming by the Parish and yet he worked his way up to a very respectable position in the town. He was a man of strong religious views; an independent Calvinistic Baptist and for many years was the leading Deacon of his Church. An old gentleman named Spence, a retired Ironmonger (who) owned a freehold house in the High Street, about four doors above our house, built a small chapel at the top end of his garden. It was a small square building - the ground floor contained the Baptistry - then the second story a few pews on three sides and the pulpit, and above that a top gallery with some 4 or 6 pews railed round so that anyone in the top gallery looked over the rails (had) full view of the preacher in the pulpit and the pew bearers in the middle section, as also the baptistry at the bottom of the square pit. It was a sort of queer dolls Chapel for the little flock of chosen and elect faithful. They could not afford a Pastor so they had an arrangement with a Minister of a church of their



William Eddon, his wife and family at Christmas, 1892. Back Row, left to right; Ursula, James Bennett, Mary Penelope, Jessie Jane, William, Charles, (?). Front Row; William Eddon, Edward Arnold, Penelope Newey Eddon.

persuasion in the Town of Sunderland who rode over on his hired horse once a quarter, or once in six months as opportunity served...In the intervals of these scarce but precious visits grandfather had charge. As I remember him he was tall and straight and rather serious looking.. dressed in Black-knee breeches, buckle shoes, top hat and old style of dress coat and, on week days, his white Joiner's apron folded round his waist. He was very quiet and fond of reading...

Grandfather died in March 1845 aged 86 years. He was the first dead person I had seen...The house in High Street became the property of Uncle Joseph of York after Grandfather's death and he sold it and Mother and I removed into an old cottage on the other side of the street, an old fashioned thatched cottage with a good sized garden behind. How long we remained there I cannot remember, but we had to remove again. The old buildings on that side of the street were pulled down to clear the ground for a New Union Workhouse to be built. Two new cottages had been built near the Bridge in Rye Gate and Mother was allowed to have one of them.. and there we lived together until the time came for me to go out into the world...

My school days

My school days began at the Infant School in Castle Gate near the main entrance of the Park Gates. How long I attended School or what I learned there I do not remember but in course of time I was promoted

to the British School off High Street and went there for some years. The fee was one penny per week and all books and a slate found. There I learned the Church Catechism from the beginning to the end...We also had to commit to memory the special collect for each Sunday's service. The whole School had to go to the Parish Church every Friday morning for service. As the School was a good distance from the Church we had to walk in procession all the way. As we did this going along the High Street, some of the bad boys who did not regard, or remember, their baptismal promises, would evade the church service by leaving the procession if they saw a chance of popping into a passage as we passed down the Street, and if found out, as they generally were, got a sound trouncing in the afternoon. But I must say the Schoolmaster was a smart man, and did his duty by us. We learned Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic up to Fractions, with a little spelling, grammar, geography and history and a few other things thrown in...

When I finished at the High Street School I went for two years to the only private school in Helmsley, conducted by Mr Jonathan Taylor, a Quaker, and formerly in a large Merchantile House in Liverpool. He was an able and gentlemanly man and I think of him with great respect...His School was conducted in the old Quaker Meeting House - now the Primitive Methodist Chapel. He taught the elementary and some higher branches of Arithmetic: Land surveying, Bookkeeping by single and double entry. The second year under him I was top boy in

the School and sat at a table in front of his desk and helped to correct the lessons of the younger boys and girls. I was sorry when I had to leave school.

My ambition at that time was to be a Joiner and Cabinet Maker and I made a trial by going to my Uncle William Jackson at the old Black and White House in the Market Place. I had spent much of my time in and about the Joiner's Shop before making a real start and knew a good deal about it. We did all the ordinary work of Joining and Cabinet making for a Country town, and Turning work besides. I liked it all and was sorry to have to give it up after a year or more of trial. I was not built physically to make a Joiner and do the rough hard work of those days. I remember old Doctor King who was our Medical Man calling at the shop soon after I had made a start. I was busy sawing some wood for making chairs. He stood and looked on at me a while and said I wasn't built to stand that sort of work and he would give me six months only. And sure enough I had to give it up . . .

A youth was wanted at the New County Court Office opened at Helmsley and I got the place. The Manager and I...got along all right and the work was like play to me. I had 4 or 5 hours office work daily and 4/- a week wages. I stayed there some three or four years and then made up my mind to go to Hull and seek my fortune'.

The narrative continues with an account of the five years William spent in Hull as clerk to a solicitor, John Walker. Every Friday he attended the Bethel Young Members Mutual Improvement Class, where his talents as a preacher and 'missionary' so impressed the elders they offered him training as a Minister. After four years on circuit as a probationer he was ordained in 1864, the same year as he married Penelope Newey Gibson. In 1871 he moved to Thorne Circuit and described the three years he spent at Epworth (home of John Wesley) where two of his ten children were born, as perhaps the pleasantest of his life. He retired in 1895 after 36 years in the ministry, and died in 1917.

The Editor would like to thank Miss Judy Eddon for her help with this article and the illustration.

Bill Cowley 1915 - 1994.

Bill Cowley was born in Middlesbrough and educated at the High School there. During the summer of 1932 he spent every week-end camping 'at the head of Bilsdale, on Harry Todd's Holme Farm, studying for his school certificate in the morning, and walking in the afternoon. One day he and a companion were walking down to Chop Gate when the Vicar of Bilsdale - the Revd Binyon - joined them. He asked them if they knew the Ship Stone in Tripsdale. 'It has a Latin inscription - but perhaps you don't know Latin?'. Bill and his friend were pleased to tell him they had spent the morning reading right through Virgil's Georgics, Book I. Bill used to call at Nellie Allenby's shop at Chop Gate where her tea-table would groan with home-fed ham, scones, cakes, and pies and where you could eat as much as you liked for 1s 6d. Another farm Bill visited was Horn End, on Farndale West Side, which was run by the Wass family. Bill recalled how the farm house had a great turf fireplace, and how on one visit he helped feed turves down from the moor. Young rabbit roasted with a slice of fat bacon down the breast was, for him, a culinary delight.

At Jesus College, Cambridge, Bill took a degree in Economics and founded the Cambridge University Yorkshire Society which was

visited regularly by Canon Kyle (1894 - 1943) of Carlton-in-Cleveland - the famous 'Parson-Publican'. Among members of the Society was Alfred John Brown (1894-1969) the Bradford born author and moorland tramp who, Bill told me, had a considerable influence on his early life and later writing.

After leaving Cambridge he studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, then walked round Europe with a rucksack, an undertaking that greatly assisted his successful application to join the Indian Civil Service. After completing a year at the School of Oriental Studies in London he was posted to the Punjab where he spent the next eight years from 1939-1947. During this time he married his first wife, Mary Dyson, and became District Officer and Magistrate, Famine Relief Officer, and Director of Grain Purchase and Supply. He also founded the Young Farmers Clubs and Punjab Mountaineering Club. In June 1946 his first wife Mary died unexpectedly. The following year Bill came back to England where he met and married Jean Warren of Darton, South Yorkshire.

From 1948 to 1951 Bill farmed the 21 acre Manor Farm at Over Silton near Osmotherley during which time he started writing for *The Dalesman*. In August 1950 (Volume 12, no 5) he wrote; 'After years of varied and largely open air life as an administrator in Northern India (where *The Dalesman* brought Yorkshire breezes to such distant places as the famine -struck deserts of Hissar and the snowy peaks of Kashmir, travelling frequently on horse or mule or camel-back with official files) I returned to England in 1947 and decided that, instead of swelling the ranks of administrators at home, I would fulfil an old wish and take to farming... Eventually...at a price little greater than that of a suburban house and garden, we found a roomy and pleasant house capable of improvement, fair buildings and 21 acres of light, easily worked land. This was at Over Silton, an ancient, tiny hamlet that clings to the very edge of the moors, below the great mass of Black Hambleton, looking out over the green undulating plain to the Pennines and the sunset'.

While at Silton, Bill once said that, from the moor gate he could walk forty miles to the sea, and never leave the heather. On 1 October 1955 he and a dozen other walkers set off from Beacon Hill near Osmotherley to complete the first Lyke Wake Walk. More than forty years later in excess of 150,000 people have completed this formidable trek from Osmotherley to Ravenscar. As a result there is severe erosion along some sections of the route but Bill always defended his challenge walk saying; 'People are more important than peat' and, 'What use is a National Park if people can't use it?...Not everyone wants to spend the weekends playing or watching football'.

In 1951 Bill bought the 207 acre farm of Goulton Grange on the Cleveland plain near the village of Swainby of which he later wrote in *The Dalesman*;

'The house was a pleasant one with large rooms and large windows, light and airy, with four vast attics. The buildings with standings for thirty cows, were excellent and the yard was all concreted. There was a large Dutch barn and implement shed, water laid on, and everything to gladden a farmer's heart'.

In 1951 Bill was leader of the Yorkshire Himalayan Expedition which climbed and explored in the Parbati area of Kulu in the Western (Punjab) Himalayas. From 1958-1970 he was a presenter of the BBC Northern Farmers' Programme and gave many radio talks, notably 'Return to India' and 'The Drovers' Road'. He was also a member of the Council of the Yorkshire Dialect Society.

In 1986 Bill and his wife sold the farm at Swainby and retired to Northallerton; here he published his last two books, including a scholarly account of the landscape, history, and archaeology of Snilesworth (reviewed in *The Ryedale Historian* No 17). He died on 14 August 1994, aged 78.

Tom Scott Burns

Published works.

'*Tara Devi Verses*' - C & M Gazette, Lahore, 1946.

'*A Plan for Youth*' Oxford University Press, 1947.

'*Basunag - Verses from the Himalayas and the Cleveland Hills*'

'*Lyke Wake Walk*' Dalesman, 1959.

'*A Cleveland Anthology*' ed. Bill Cowley, for the Yorkshire Dialect Society, 1963.

'*Cleveland Way*' Dalesman, 1969

'*Farming in Yorkshire*', Dalesman, 1972. 'Copperty Keld', *Cleveland Verses* Genera II, York, 1975.

'*A History of Potto and Goulton*' Privately published, 1986.

'*Cleveland Calendar*' Turker Books, 1991.

'*Snilesworth*', Turker Books, 1993.

southern edge of the North York Moors (Whitby for example will be part of the North Yorkshire volume).

The bulk of the volume (some 350 pages) is occupied by a two-part catalogue - a gazetteer of individual sites, discussed monument by monument (including a bibliography for each stone), is complemented by a very full photographic record. Although not the vehicle for a full synthesis, the volume begins with thirteen chapters, occupying a total of 50 pages, which summarise the background to both research and to the historical context in which the stones were carved. Amongst these, John Senior's chapter on regional geology complements his geological identification of individual stones; he draws attention both to the reuse of Roman stones and the utilisation of many local sources. The most important of these may have been quarries at Aislaby, near Whitby, and possibly even part of its monastic estate. The sculptures are then discussed in two major groups, for the Anglian and the Anglo-Scandinavian periods, with a short tail piece on the late tenth and eleventh centuries.

The introductory chapters concentrate on the main interests of the corpus as a whole, that is in monument forms, ornament and techniques of production; these are regarded as the defining characteristics by which workshops and individual craftsmen may eventually be recognised and dating criteria established (all are summarised in a form and motif table, again a feature common to other volumes of the corpus). Lang is also interested in the distribution of the sculptures and the associated topography, together with how these may have related to contemporary estates and patronage. Contemporary social attitudes may also be embedded in the inscriptions occasionally found on these stones. thus John Higgitt, in his chapter on non-runic inscriptions suggests that: 'Probably few of the laity could read these texts but laymen were now aspiring to see their names in stone. Part of the function of these later inscriptions was to serve as secular status symbols' (p47).

The massive bibliography must be the starting place for anyone interested in this body of material and the index is user-friendly, including not only site names, but also the names of such people as Bede and Cedd and topics such as cemeteries, coinage and Danish place-names.

WHAT DOES IT ADD UP TO?

Given the extensive work especially of Collingwood in the first two decades of this century, it might be asked what is there new in this volume? Firstly, all that is known about the sculptures is collected in one place. Secondly there are corrections to the dating and interpretations offered by Collingwood (eg Hackness ST 3). Thirdly, links can now be made between the stones and excavated artefacts (Importantly, with eighth-century metalwork, pl42). Lastly, more sculptures are now known - both from the recognition of further pieces in local churches (eg Gilling East and Hunmanby) and also from those derived from excavations, notably those from Wharram Percy and York Minster. The latter especially have led to a re-evaluation of stylistic attributes for the whole period.

There is an astonishing number both of stones catalogued and sites from which they are derived - for the City of York, 119 stones from 17 locations (+ unknown); for the East Riding, 42 stones from 18 locations; and for Ryedale, 110 from 20 locations (cf figure), nearly all from churches. This suggests that there are many more churches with an Anglo-Saxon background than can be recognised from the surviving fabric alone. Although 80% of the pre-Conquest carvings in

Review

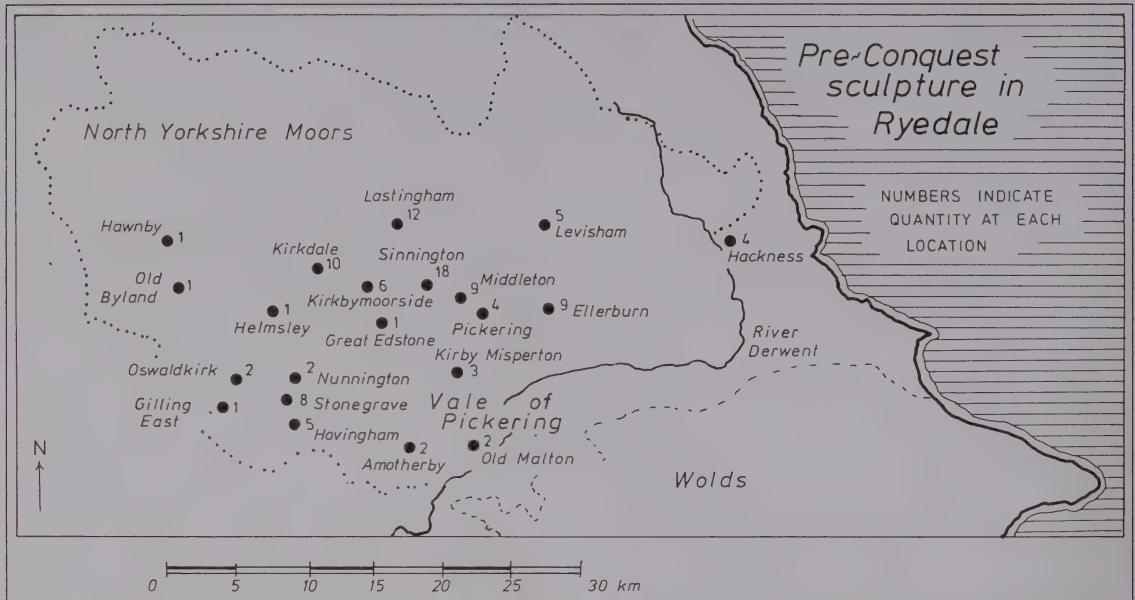
J Lang, *York and Eastern Yorkshire. Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, volume III. With contributions by J Higgitt, RI Page and JR Senior (British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1991; 439pp, including 924 illustrations)*

INTRODUCTION

This is the third of a projected massive 38-volume corpus of all the Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in England, work which is also being paralleled elsewhere in Europe. The first volume, on County Durham and Northumberland, was by Rosemary Cramp who is the driving force behind this ambitious project. She established a systematic framework for all the volumes, to ensure comparability (Cramp 1984, viii). This extends to the form of the catalogue entries, to the classification of the monuments themselves, to techniques of carving and the classification of ornament. The methods of dating similarly apply to the entire corpus. Few pieces are dated absolutely, by inscription, even as closely as the Kirkdale sundial. Rather, 'by far the greater number of pieces of sculpture have to be dated by a combination of historical context and stylistic analysis, which can provide a working framework and significant groupings but not an exact chronology; dates are put in 'notional quarter or half centuries' (ibid. xlvii).

DESCRIPTION OF THE VOLUME

Volume III of the corpus, compiled by Professor Jim Lang, now of the University of York, covers the City of York, the whole of the former East Riding and Ryedale - the Vale of Pickering and the



the area were produced in the Anglo-Scandinavian period (p32), not all of these church sites date from the very end of the period, as would be suggested from most of the surviving Anglo-Saxon fabric (Taylor and Taylor 1965-78). Locally, only at Hackness and Middleton-by-Pickering did the Taylors suggest that pre-Scandinavian fabric might survive in situ. Yet Anglian sculpture at Hovingham, Kirkdale, Lastingham and Gilling East suggests early churches in these places. In York itself, Anglian material is found at the Minster, St Mary Bishophill Junior, Coppergate and St Leonard's Place.

Most of the early monuments, like the later ones, are parts of grave-markers and/or free-standing crosses. Despite documentary evidence for churches in York from the early seventh century, there is a total lack of architectural fragments before possibly the eleventh century, despite the extensive investigations beneath the Minster. This may support the idea that the Anglo-Saxon cathedral did not lie beneath the present building, although Lang considers the stelae or small gravemarkers there may have been located in *porticus* flanking the building (p60). Indeed, within this volume of sculptures, only Hackness and Lastingham have Anglian-period architectural fittings (as distinct from funerary or devotional monuments). These were presumably originally part of stone buildings, thus complementing Bede's description of a stone church at Lastingham in his day (Lang p171).

For the Anglo-Scandinavian period, the former existence of pre-Conquest churches can also be suggested on the basis of the sculpture at Kirkbymoorside, Levisham, Sinnington, Helmsley, Pickering and Ellerburn. Of the local churches with recognisable Anglo-Saxon fabric, only Terrington and Kirby Hill have not also produced sculpture (Taylor and Taylor 1965-1975 of Lang 1991).

We cannot yet be confident that all or most Anglo-Saxon churches can be postulated from the evidence of church fabric, stone sculptures and documentary sources (see for example the recently-excavated pre-Conquest churches at Wharrah Percy, (Lang 1991, 222-3 and Bell and Beresford 1987). These sources must, however, provide the starting

point for any discussion of the characteristics of such churches and their place within contemporary society. To what extent, for instance, did Kirkdale differ from the documented early site at Hackness? Both do at least have early, high quality, gravecovers, both probably from shrines. And how did these sites change during the period covered by this volume? Lang suggests (p27) that 'Anglian ecclesiastical sites, like Lastingham, Kirkdale, and, perhaps, Levisham continued in the Anglo-Scandinavian period as cemeteries', while monasteries such as Lastingham 'withered on the vine' (p8). Does this reflect a real shift from monasticism to parish churches or are non-monastic churches more difficult to recognise in the earlier period?

There is thus much to contemplate in this volume, in addition to the fundamental contribution made by the systematic catalogue. This can now be readily be compared with material from the rest of the country. Other approaches that could be pursued on the basis of these data include stylistic and geological links between sites. These could help, for instance, to define a group of churches associated with the Northumbrian mission.

One small outstanding problem concerns the geological identification of the stone of the Kirkdale sundial. Senior describes it as a 'fine-grained white...sandstone, with iron nodules...from the North Yorkshire Moors' (Lang pl64); but Hemingway thought it was Caen stone, imported from Normandy (Ryedale Historian 10 (1980), 19 footnote ii). Which identification is correct? If Hemingway was right, this would be an early example of the use of Caen stone and would be relevant to our understanding of the wider connections, whether direct or indirect, of Kirkdale at this time.

Another minor criticism, or rather request for an even more extensive volume, concerns the many undecorated stones that are not obviously reused post-Conquest graveslabs which are built into the early fabric of such churches as Sinnington. Their size alone distinguishes them from ordinary building stone. A list of these would provide another valuable clue to the former existence of pre-Conquest churches.

This volume nevertheless represents the definitive starting-point for absorbing the views of this generation of scholars on the Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in our area within a much wider framework of knowledge. Jim Lang and his research assistant, Eric Cambridge, have produced a volume which is a worthy companion to the great corpus of Anglo-Saxon churches by Taylor and Taylor.

Lorna Watts

Bell and Beresford 1987	RD Bell and MW Beresford, <i>Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, III, The Church of St Martin</i> (Soc Medieval Archaeol mono no 11).
Collingwood 1907	WG Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', <i>Yorkshire Archaeol J</i> xix (1907), 266-413.
Collingwood 1909	WG Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York', <i>Yorkshire Archaeol J</i> xx (1909), 149-213.
Collingwood 1911	WC Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, With Addenda to the North Riding', <i>Yorkshire Archaeol J</i> xxi (1911), 254-302.
Collingwood 1912	WG Collingwood, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture Stone', in W Page (ed), <i>The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire, II</i> (London, 1912), 109-31.
Collingwood 1915	WG Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, With Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and A General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire', <i>Yorkshire Archaeol J</i> xxiii (1915), 129-299.
Cramp 1984	R Cramp, <i>General Introduction</i> . Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England (British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1984).
Ryedale Historian	'Thomas Parker of Wombledon', <i>Ryedale Historian</i> , 10 (1980), 4-46.
Taylor and Taylor	HM Taylor and Joan Taylor, <i>Anglo-Saxon Architecture Vols I-III</i> (Cambridge University Press, 1965 -1878).

Review

***Coxwoldshire: Historical Aspects* Huthwaite Local History Society, York, 1992.**

All credit to the team of local historians who developed this study; to Mrs Jennifer Kaner, tutor of the WEA class which laid its foundation, and to Sessions of York for their production of a handsome A4 volume.

'Coxwoldshire' is a useful term, with good mediaeval precedents,

to describe the cluster of settlements below the south-west corner of the North York Moors, focussed on Coxwold itself but extending from Byland to Thirkleby and Thornton-on-the-Hill to Oldstead. An administrative entity in pre-Conquest times, it was parcelled out under the Normans but retained a geographical coherence.

The solid base of the study's coverage is provided by two chapters contributed by Dr. S.R. Eyre, formerly of the School of Geography at Leeds University, and now resident in the district. He deals comprehensively with the geology and land use of the original 'shire', and paves the way for a series of studies of distinct aspects and periods. These later chapters are not content to stay within the obvious foci of interest; the two monastic centres of Byland and Newburgh; the career of Laurence Sterne; and the scenic delights of Coxwold itself but bring to light numerous lesser known characters and facets of the area, from the glass painter, William Peckitt, and the coal miners of Birdforth, to the 'manor' of Baxby and the experiences of the inhabitants of the Second World War. The final chapter, exploring the details of the deserted village and manor house of Thornton-on-the-Hill, is a particularly neat piece of detective work.

Not all the contributions, naturally enough, are of equal merit. Some ramble, some seem intent on tucking in every last note taken in their preliminary research. But all contribute something, and the average standard is good. It could have been better but for one weakness: a lack of constructive and vigilant editing. There is a crop of misprints ('through' for 'thought' for example); minor illiteracies ('incidentally'); and the odd aberration - 'purloin' for a forest 'purlieu'; while the map on page 75 has Otteringham for (South) Otterington. And the writer of Chapter 11, 'History of a House', should not have been allowed to get away with concealing the identity and location of the property discussed, particularly as the architectural information given would be of considerable interest to a student of vernacular architecture.

Nevertheless the study as a whole is wide ranging, stimulating, and of considerable importance to local historians as well as to people living in the locality.

John McDonnell

Review

Blaise Vyner ed., *Moorland Monuments: studies in the archaeology of North-East Yorkshire in honour of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt*. C.B.A. Research Report No. 101, 1995. ISBN 1 872414 55 9. York XV + 256 pp. £28.00 (incl. p. and p.)

Don Spratt died in 1992, aged 70 years; Raymond Hayes (now 87) though no longer able to walk his beloved moorland, will appreciate this volume in honour of them both. Their contribution to the archaeology of the area is outstanding, as their bibliographies in this volume make clear, their work has received wide recognition in their own day both in Yorkshire and beyond. Two splendidly characteristic photographs of them, among the heather, grace the back cover of the book, which is a handsome addition to our appreciation, and to the work in which they were so prominent.

Festschriften are, by their nature, diverse in content, with no obvious links to bind the essays together. This matters less in this case, as the very diversity reflects the wide interests of Raymond and Don. The editor has also sensibly grouped the essays in themes: general reviews of archaeological topics relevant to the north-east; 'heritage'; accounts of individual sites; and studies of artifacts.

No less than 27 people have contributed to this offering; while most names are familiar to those 'in the know' in Yorkshire archaeology, the general reader would have found it useful to know the writers' professions, institutional affiliations, qualifications, and addresses. The omission of these may be intentional on the part of the editor, who did not perhaps wish to emphasize the professional/amateur divide in a volume dedicated to two great non-professional archaeologists; is this a piece of 'political correctness'?

Ian Simmons sets the environmental scene for human settlement in an invaluable modern scientific overview of North Yorkshire before the Bronze Age. Blaise Vyner's innovative essay reviews the study of an old war-horse, the cross-ridge dykes; this was a topic of major interest to both Spratt and Hayes. Vyner prefers to call these 'boundaries' rather than 'dykes': 'components of a larger monument, a place within the prehistoric landscape'. The first part of his title, 'The brides of place', puzzled me; it turns out to be a quotation from a 1985 poem by Douglas Dunn, in the context of a motor scrap-yard; but Vyner uses it to emphasize the 'marriage' between monuments and places, a theme very prominent in current archaeological theory.

Also highly original is Jeremy Evans' study of Iron Age and 'native' pottery in the north-east. This is fundamental to local settlement studies of the Iron Age/Roman transition and beyond. Querns were also a subject initiated by Hayes and Spratt; their distribution and typology is here extended by Gwilt and Heslop into the Tees Valley.

Harold Mytum draws our attention to the square barrows on the Moors, some of which survive as clear earthworks. We are familiar with square barrows and the dramatic evidence for cart burial on the Wolds, but this extension of the 'culture' north of the Derwent is less well known.

Peter Wilson summarises his doctoral work on the Roman period, emphasizing the role of detailed local studies in the dramatic expansion of evidence for Roman settlement in the area in recent decades.

Finally in this review section, Robin Daniels examines the relationship in Cleveland between churches and planned village settlements.

'Heritage' has become a much-hated word, symbolizing the horrors of the exploitation of our past in a vulgar way for monetary gain. The essays under this heading are, however, of remarkable interest. Terry Manby embarked on a detective story on the work of Samuel Anderson, the Whitby antiquary. It led to the identification of a major group of Bronze Age pottery formerly believed to have been destroyed in the Liverpool blitz, and takes us into the strange world of Victorian collectors, barrow-diggers and forgers of antiquities. Other papers in this section include a new study of Roseberry Topping, its archaeology and tourism; a very informed piece on local museums; and a discussion of the formidable problems faced by the indefatigable Graham Lee in coping with the archaeology of the National Park.

The 'Sites' chapter is more descriptive, but includes accounts of Bronze Age sites in Sleddale; a survey at Scarth Wood Moor, drawing

heavily on the work of another local archaeological giant, Frank Elgee, who may be seen as the direct predecessor of Spratt and Hayes; a description of the recent excavations at Scarborough; evaluation of the Saltwick alum works; and the mill at Comondale. Trevor Pearson is oddly reticent about the Roman and Viking structures reported around the Scarborough foreshore and elsewhere by Peter Farmer (Farmer 1988). Pearson does, however, put the history and archaeology of the medieval town into a new context, the result of a sustained campaign of rescue excavation by the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society. Rescue too is the theme of Gary Marshall's fine essay on the Saltwick alum industry. The agent of destruction is not here the developer, but the sea, making rapid inroads, as elsewhere along our Yorkshire coast, into a remarkable series of structures - a whole industrial landscape.

The 'Finds' section deals with lithic material from the Howardian Hills - a much-neglected area now being field-walked by John Bateman; a gathering together of a major bronze hoard from Fadmoor, found at intervals since 1967; three more 'Celtic' heads from East Cleveland - a singularly intransigent topic 'Iron Age'? modern; a concise and authoritative survey of the post-medieval pottery industry at Coxwold which produced Ryedale ware; and finally an important paper on late Roman glass from Beadlam villa.

The Beadlam villa is the only one so far identified for certain in Ryedale. The excavations there by Tony Pacitto and Ian Stead, are currently being prepared for publication under the aegis of English Heritage; their laboratory has also carried out an extensive geophysical survey, which shows that the part of the villa excavated is only part of a more extensive complex. (AM Lab Report 2/93). Among the finds was a very odd sherd, from an Italian wine amphora dating from before 10 B.C. (Rigby 1988)²; now we have a masterly report on the equally remarkable 61 sherds of late Roman mould-blown glass by Jenny Price and Sally Cottam. Such sherds are rare in Britain, but are paralleled all over the North-Western Provinces of the empire. For the ignorant reader like myself, it would have been useful to have a brief account of the technique involved in mould-blown glass, which sounds at first like a contradiction in terms. The glass sherds again emphasize that Beadlam was no ordinary villa, but a wealthy establishment with far-flung connections.

It is difficult in a review of such a book to do justice to the contributors, or to give what is little more than a list of contents, with slight comment. It will be clear, however, from what I've said, that this *festschrift* is full of material of interest and relevance to readers of the *Historian*; and reflects the keen spirit of enquiry which characterised the work of the two archaeologists in whose honour it was compiled. We must be grateful to the contributors, and especially to Blaise Vyner, who organised the venture, and the Council for British Archaeology who generously published it to their usually impeccable standards.

Philip Rahtz

1. Farmer, P.G., 1988 'Early medieval settlement in Scarborough' in T.G. Manby ed., *Archaeology in Eastern Yorkshire* Univ. Sheffield, Ch.10.

2. Rigby, V., 1988 'An amphora sherd from the Beadlam Roman Villa', in J. Price and P.R. Wilson eds., *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire*, B.A.R., Brit. Ser. 193, 313-21.

Notes

